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THE LOCATIVE IN BANTU

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SYNOPSIS

Bentley in Kongo, 1887, and Doke in Zulu, 1931, showed that it is the context or the Verb which indicates whether rest at or direction to or from a place is being described and is not expressed by a Locative Prefix. The principle that pa–, ku– *or* mu– *describe the type of place at which the action takes place, originates, finishes or is directed in any particular Bantu language has not been universally or always completely understood. There are no Prepositions in Bantu and various devices to compensate for their absence are illustrated by examples from Ganda and Swahili.*

No conclusive evidence appears available at present to determine the origin of Locative –ni, *though its connection with Class (9) seems probable and further research is necessary. The Locative Initial Vowel* e– *in Ganda* (i– *in Gishu) is derived from the Preprefix* gi–, *but whether a Locative* gi– *occured in Ur-Bantu is uncertain, because the use of* gi–, *Class (9), as a Locative may be of independent origin in the Nyanza basin. A brief survey is given and the use of Locative* e–, *in Ganda described.*

In 1887 Bentley*(1) showed in Kongo that it is the context or the verb which indicates whether rest at or motion to or from a place is being described, and is not expressed by the locative prefix.

During the years that followed the compilers of grammars of various Bantu languages were confused though here and there one sees indications that the principle was recognized, and this confusion has continued.

Doke, in his Zulu grammar, 1931(2), recognizes the principle and confirms this in 1935(3). I do not always agree with Mrs. Ashton(4) in her Swahili grammar, 1944, but the principles are sound.

Our English grammar books tell us that the radical meaning of a preposition is "rest at", or, "motion to or from", whilst "on" or, "in" refer to space, for we say "at home", "at dawn"; but "on Monday", "in the afternoon". And we use "at" for small places, "in" for large; thus, He lives *at* Bristol, but, He lives *in* London. We use "to" or "from" without distinction whether the place is large or small.

This is the accepted mode of thought in English, but I submit that the mode of thought in Bantu is otherwise and suggest, as others have done, that the Ur-Bantu Prefixes *pa–*, *ku–* and *mu–* represent the concept of place in its three different categories. These are:

(a) A point, a small area near to the speaker, or, such an area defined by its proximity to a recognizable object.

* Bentley, p. 593, says, "The context or Verb is always sufficient to indicate whether rest or motion is implied as also direction, whether *towards* or *from*." Since in Kongo, *va–* could only mean place (on), with a Plural *mu–*, place (in), he had only *ku–* to imply rest *at*, or motion *towards* or *from* a definite point. He was lucky, for in Ganda we have 3 locatives in addition to *mu–* about which to speculate.

(b) A point or small area distant from the speaker, or, an area not so well defined.*

(c) Space in either two or three dimensions.

Further, it is clear that if one of these loc. pref. is used to express surface, e.g. as we say, "on the table", "on the hill", "on the wall", it should be category (a) or two dimensional (c).

It may be that the concept of a limited spot originates from the "home" or village, where people live in villages, category (a) and all other places are placed in (b), for there is some evidence for this mode of thought. And it may well be that our definitions of place are too clear cut, and the Bantu African does not look on place quite in this way, and the selection of locative prefixes for certain places is more a habit of mind than a conscious attempt to define those places.

The Nyanza group of Bantu languages is nearer to the focus from which they have spread, and thus the mode of thought expressed in them is more likely to approximate to Ur-Bantu than others subjected to outside influences in the course of their migrations.

So, by examples from Ganda I hope to kill once and for all the idea that a locative represents either "rest at" or, "motion to or from". The Locative *e–* has a restricted use and disappears when it is the object of the verb, and is dealt with more fully later. However it forms demonstratives and we say *Jjangu eno*, come (to) here; *ali eno*, he is here. *Ku–*, is also used thus: *Agenze* (*avudde*) *kukibuga*, he has gone (to) (come from) the capital, or, *ali kukibuga*, he is (at) the capital; *agenze* (*avudde*) *kulusozi*, he has gone (to) (come from) the hill, or, *ali kulusozi*, he is (on) the hill.

In Swahili, a language which has had contact with non-Bantu speaking people for centuries, the Bantu mode of thought persists. He has gone *to* (come *from*) Musa's place (home) . . . *kwa Musa;* he is *at* Musa's, *Yuko kwa Musa;* and so on. I doubt not but there are parallel cases in most, probably all, Bantu languages.

What has happened is that in English construction we require the prepositions "to" or "from", etc., after verbs of motion; and "at" or "in" after verbs implying localization. A verb, such as *enter* requires *into*, and *emerge* requires *from*, and the following noun is the object of the preposition.

On the contrary, the Bantu verb implies the appropriate preposition necessary to translate the phrase into English, and the locative prefix tells you which category of place *in that particular language* is the object of the verb. For instance, whilst in Swahili *pa–* denotes a definite spot, category (a), the concept of "home", which one thinks of as being a very limited and definite place, is characterized by *ku–*; in other words, the Locative *ku–* in Swahili has two functions: (a) to describe an area, or distance from the speaker, and (b) to describe a home, the place where someone lives, or can be found. In Ganda one goes to one's home, *ewaffe*, but to one's in-laws, *kubuko*, and the reason for this is seen later.

Both Meinhof ([5]) and Johnston ([6]) agree that in Ur-Bantu *pa–* is translateable by "at" or "on", but whilst Johnston thinks *ku–* to be the preposition meaning "towards", Meinhof considers it a locative "outside", by which I take him to mean any place that is not "inside". But no one acquainted with the Nyanza Group of Bantu languages in the Uganda Protectorate can agree with this, for *ku–* means *inter alia*, "place on" in Ganda and Gishu, although in Nyoro whilst *ku–* suggests a very limited area, "place on top" is represented by *ha–*. (*Pa–* has become *ha–* in Nyoro, *wa–* in Ganda.)

The only possible explanation for this interchange is that *pa–* and *ku–* are derived from different nouns or demonstratives meaning "place" at the time when Ur-Bantu was taking shape, and in one focus of development *pa–* became associated with the concept of a definite spot, whilst at another focus *ku–* was selected for that purpose.

Meinhof and others are agreed that there are no real prepositions in Bantu. In English "A preposition is a word (not being a verb) *placed before* a noun or pronoun as its object."

In Bantu we have prefixes, *placed before* a noun, which alter the meaning of that noun and convert it into an adverb.

* Distance implies a certain vagueness, hence area, and area as opposed to a point, implies, in turn, distance from the speaker or a recognized focus.

Here is the picture as I see it.

Bantuists agree that the pronominal formatives are derived from the preprefixes. Hence both Meinhof and Johnston postulated the Ur-Bantu forms of the locative prefixes as *pa–pa–*, *ku–ku–* and *mu–mu–* and we find *ha–ha–* in Gishu. Apart from the adverbial nouns formed with the stem *–ntu* (*–ndu*, *–tu*, etc.) e.g. *pantu*, *kuntu*, a place, which are rather rare, having been replaced by another word, e.g. *ekifo*, in Ganda, the typical adverb of place is formed thus: loc. pref. — class prefix — stem. Here the locative prefix has replaced the normal preprefix of the noun, and one has a complete word. In Ganda, *o-lu-sozi*, a hill, becomes *ku-lu-sozi*, an adverb, but it can be the subject of a copula, which is omitted, thus, *kulosozi kulungi*, on the hill (it is) nice. But since this type of word is more adverb than noun, this construction is not favoured. This adverb of place is composite, for the *type* of place indicated by the loc. pref. is further described by the noun element used adjectivally. The fact that *pa–*, *ku–* and *mu–* stand for a catetory of place necessitates constructions which are unfamiliar to us in English. One can enter into the inside of a house, but one must come out from the inside of a house; one must descend from the hill-top, or tree-top, or climb to the hill-top or tree-top. That is to say, the action can be either towards or away from the place described, and that depends on the verb; the place is a constant, and Bantu is very particular about place. Thus, because the place is a constant, and to avoid ambiguity, sometimes the prepositional form of a verb is used to express the preposition different from that expressed by the stem, e.g. in Ganda: *goba enkoko munju* (drive the fowls *into* the hut); *gobera enkoko munju* (drive the fowls *out of* the hut).

Another difficulty arises when one wishes to qualify the noun element of the adverb by an adjective, e.g. "on the large hill". This can be done either by "hetero-concording" in which the adjective agrees with the noun element of the adverb, or by using an adverbial phrase to replace the locative prefix. As regards the first, in Ganda, *kulusozi olunene*, on the large hill, though Ganda evades the issue by treating *ku* as a separate word, which I think is very naughty. Regarding the second, all Bantu languages employ adverbial phrases, either to express positions other than those covered by *pa–*, *ku–*, or *mu–* (or in Swahili by *–ni*) or sometimes to replace the loc. pref. in the same language to achieve greater precision and/or emphasis, e.g. *munda w'enju*, the inside of *the* house, instead of *munju;* or, *waggulu w'emmeeza*,* on top of *the* table, instead of *kummeeza*, on the table.

Although we classify loc. prefixes as preprefixes because they provide the pronominal prefixes, they can be represented by their initial vowels, e.g. in Ganda the demonstratives of the 2nd position, *awo*, *okwo*, *omwo* and *eyo*. We find them rather rarely in addition to the loc. preprefix, e.g. in Nyoro, *omunju*, the inside of a house, *ahandi*, another place; in Ganda, *awantu*, a place, *awalala*, another place, *awamu*, all in one place, together.

The principle in Ganda, and probably in other related languages, is that the i.v. is present when the word is used as an adverb, and omitted when the word is used as a pronoun as the object of the verb, e.g. *awalala* is an adverb; *walala* a pronoun. The same rule applies to the use of *e–* as we see later.

In Bantu the demonstratives are primarily qualificatives and secondarily pronouns, and those formed with loc. pref. are adverbs and pronouns of place. Their uses are well known and need not be described. Actually these adverbs may be doubly locative, for, in Ganda, those of the 1st and 3rd positions indicate whether the category of place is near to or far away from the speaker. Those in the 2nd position frequently refer only to some known place or one mentioned before, and may be constructed solely with derivatives of the loc. prefix, e.g. Ganda, *awo*, *okwo*, etc.

In the 1st and 3rd positions, the locative formative is either a prefix or a suffix (*vide* examples given by Johnston ([6]), Vol. II, pp. 460–1), and is illustrated in Swahili by *hapa*, here, *pale*, yonder. This point is easily overlooked.

* I am indebted to Mr. E. G. M. Ndawula for the orthography now employed in Ganda, and for his help in other ways.

The adverbial suffixes are also well understood, derived from the pronominal prefix. That of *ku–* is *–ko* in Ganda, thus, *teekako* means "put it on" literally, "put it there (on) such a place as is described by *ku–*"; or, *teekamu* (not *–mo* in Ganda), "put it (into) place inside".

Adverbs of place are frequently formed with one of the locative prefixes, and in the Nyanza Group some are either nouns in the "*N*" Class (9) used adverbially, or are adverbs formed with *e–;* and it is not always easy to decide which are which. In Swahili loc. prefixes have been discarded as formatives of adverbs and are replaced by *–ni*, e.g. *chini*, on the ground, below; *ndani*, inside.

Alternatively one frequently finds a recognizable noun used adverbially.

An adverbial phrase, often loosely decribed as a "preposition", can be formed with an adverb of place. These can be of two types,

(a) in which two adverbs are in apposition.
(b) the adverb is brought into relation with a noun by the use of the possessive *–a*.

(a) Apposition in Ganda:

Waggulu kumuti	up on a tree
Waggulu mumuti	up in a tree

Such phrases are terse and informative rather than conversational, and the change in the loc. pref. to describe exact position is typically Bantu.

(b) Phrases using the possessive *–a* are of two types in each of which the noun is complete with its normal i.v. and therefore can be described by any qualificative to form a very exact description of the place.

In type (1) the formative of the possessive is the same as the loc. pref. of the adverb, or is another locative, e.g. in Ganda:

Waggulu w'emmeeza ennene	The position above the large table
Kungulu kw'emmeeza eno	The position above this table
Munda w'ennyumba eri	The inside of yon house

In type (2) the noun element of the adverb is recognized and requires its normal concord, e.g. in Ganda:

Mumaaso g'enju	In front of the house (*maaso*, (6) face)*
kumabali g'omugga	On the sides of the river (*mabali*, (6) sides)

In adverbial phrases "hetero-concording" is frequent but quite logical when one knows the category of place indicated by *pa–* or *ku–* in that particular language. *Mu–*, as far as I know, never presents any difficulty.

One can see that a phrase such as *munda* (*mw'*) *w'enju* can replace the neater construction, with its limitations, of *munju*. And similarily in Swahili, *ndani ya numba*, inside of the house, is more precise than the vague *nyumbani*, translateable by a place inside or outside or on top of a house.

Though one cannot say for certain that "hetero-concording" occurred in Ur-Bantu, it is probable; but we can say with greater certainty that, in the course of their wanderings and admixture with non-Bantu speaking peoples, modifications have taken place and the locatives have suffered changes. For instance, it may well be that the use of *–kati* or *–nda*, "the inside, interior" is responsible for the virtual or complete disappearence of *mu–* in some East and South African languages. In Swahili, *juu ya* is used to express with greater precision than *–ni*, the top of anything, and *pa–*, though indicating a definite spot, is not used for "on", but instead we have *mu-*, which being overshaddowed by the use of *–ni* is rather shy and elusive.

It is not necessary to say anything about adverbs of time, except to repeat, what is already well known, that when *pa–*, *ku–* or *mu–* are used for time, they are used in exactly the same way as they are used for place *in that particular language*. These prefixes have never presented any difficulty because the question whether, they represent "motion *to* or *from*" or, "rest *at*" does not arise.

Thus we see that there are no prepositions in Bantu, as has been recognized for a long time,

* Figures in brackets here and hereafter refer to Meinhof's Classes (5).

and all I have done is to show how the language compensates for their absence. Whether these formatives should be joined to the word to which they belong, or treated as separate words is a matter of opinion, and in my opinion they should be joined, and I have done so in this article, except in some quotations in the last part.

* * *

I pass on to consider other locatives whose use we understand, but which are of academic interest, without claiming that the last word is said about them.

-NI

The locative sufix *-ni* in Swahili and a few other languages represents the three categories of place, and place "on", e.g. on a table or on a wall, and I am begining to think it is related to *na*, "and," or, "with", commonly met with in many Bantu languages. I note that *ni* is an alternative form to *na* with this meaning in Gishu, where either *-i* or *-a* is the formative of a possessive. We are accustomed to *na* is being used in the adverbial phrases "near to" "far from" where *na* is in fact either a locative, "place of", or very nearly so. In Ganda, *kumpi n'ekitanda*, near to the bed; *Wala n'omugga*, far from the river.

We know of no case in Ur-Bantu where the preprefix is a single consonant, so *na* is probably derived from a hypothetical *ni-* forming a possessive *na* with *-a*. This goes a stage further than Mrs. Ashton who so rightly isolates an "associative *N*" ([10]). We have seen previously that in an adverbial phrase, except when the noun element is recognized as such, a locative formative is used to construct the connecting possessive, and one recognizes that "with" in English connotes "position together". However, I do not know of a recognizable loc. prefix *ni-*. In the Nyanza Group the "near" demonstrative is formed with *-nu* or *-no*, and "near" has a locative implication.

We find a series of words of the type *Munya-mwenge*, a Native of Mwenge, in Toro, and *nya-* becoming *nna-* in Gishu and Ganda, we have in Ganda *Munnabuddu*, a Native of Buddu, in Buganda. These are counties, but names of countries are also formed thus, *Bunyankole*, *Bunyaruanda*, the people being *Banyankole* or *Banyaruanda*. This prefix is also used in place names, e.g. *Nyakasura*, in Toro, (*ekisura*, salt); *Nnamirembe*, in Buganda, (*emirembe*, peace). Johnston thinks that this *-nya-* has the meaning "of, concerning", with which I agree, though "concerned with" is perhaps better. This *nya-* must not be confused with the *nya-* (*nna-*) "mother" or female honorific prefix. *Nna-* is frequently the prefix of names of animals, birds, etc., in Ganda, and a study of these would be interesting, but does not concern us now. I do not know the exact range of the locative use of *nya*, *nna-* but I suspect it to be old, though it may have been carried by the later Bantu migrations and possibly by the pastoral, and not the agricultural, Bantu.

We know that the locative formative can be either a prefix or a suffix of a demonstrative adverb. As far as I know, the locative prefixes *pa-*, *ku-* or *mu-* when used to form an adverb of place with a noun stem are invariably prefixes, but if they can be used as a suffix to form a demonstrative adverb, it is conceivable that they could be a suffix to a noun.

The adverbs found in Makua, *va-mashi-ni*, "at the water", and *m-mashi-ni*, "in the water" do not answer this question, but appear to be a transitional form, half-way so to speak to Swahili. In Swahili the loc. pref. is replaced by the suffix, for there are no preprefixes of nouns in this language and I know that *nyumbani* means the place inside or outside a house. Also, that *ndani* (inside), or *chini* (on the ground) in Swahili correspond exactly in meaning and in usage with *munda* or *wansi* in Ganda, and the inference is unescapable.

This is all very well, but *ni-* is not a preprefix and one thinks of preprefixes as being the only formatives of adverbs of place. However, in Kongo ([1]), (Bentley, Vol. I, pp. 578, 586) we find *mu-* (3), *mi-* (4) *ma-* (5) class prefixes used as the pronominal prefixes, and *ma-* a pronominal prefix in some Tanganyika languages; and *-mu-* or *-m-*

is the usual object prefix for class (1) in verbs. *Mu–* (1) is used as the pronominal prefix with *–enye*, having, in Swahili, so the rule is not absolute. It seems unlikely that *–ni* is derived from the class prefix sing. "*N*" class (9), but would fit in very conveniently if it did so. We shall see that Ur-Bantu *gi–* has given Ganda a locative, and we know that *–ni* is a locative. It may be that the combination of *gi–* locative, and the "Associative *N*" which implies proximity in space as well as relationship, has given us *–ni* and for the present we must leave it at that.

E–

Though *i–*, *e–*, originally *gi–*, has not been included by Meinhof or Johnston in their list of Ur-Bantu locatives, it must, I think, be included as a locative used in Ganda and Gishu, and traces are discernable in other languages. There is no difficulty in doing so, for we accept the fact that *ku–* can have two separate functions forming an infinitive in some languages, or the sing. class prefix of the words for an arm, leg or ear, and the completly different function of a locative prefix to describe a place. So we can adjust our minds to face the fact that this locative *i–*, *e–* is indentical in form with the sing. i.v. of the "*N*" class (9). Johnston thought that the *e–* in Ganda is derived from *e-ri–* class (5), probably because of the series of nouns in Ganda derived from verbs which give the locus of the action, e.g. *essomero*, school (*–soma*, read) but the evidence does not support this. We must assume, I think, that the use of *gi–*, if it was not in Ur-Bantu originated North of the Victoria Nyanza, and has been ousted in neighbouring languages by *pa–* or *ku–*, either because it was redundant, or the other prefixes were preferred. That *i–* or *e–* is, an i.v. is not a stumbling block, for if we look at the noun classes in Gishu, a language which has not had the attention it deserves, we see two preprefixes reduced to an initial vowel, and also their almost complete disappearence. For convenience I give some of the classes to show what happens in a living language where preprefixes still exist (8).

Most usual Prefixes		Prefixes used with many words	
u-mu–	(1)	*k* is often indistinguishable from *g*.	
ba–	(2)	*ba-ba–*	Reduplication occures
ku-mu–	(3)		when the stem of a
ki-mi–	(4)		noun begins with a
l-i–	(5)		vowel, or is monosyla-
ka-ma–	(6)		bic, e.g.
ki–	(7)	*ki-ki–*	*kikyaba*, hand
bi–	(8)	*bi-bi–*	*kikindu*, thing
i n–	(9)	*i–*	*babandu*, people
tsi-n–	(10)	*tsi–*	but *handu*, a place.
ha–	(16)	*ha-ha–*	

It may be that class (1) uses an i.v. to distinguish it from class (3), and class (9) an i.v. to distinguish it from class (4).

The following is an abreviated account of the occurrence of *i–* or *e–* and derivatives of *gi–* used as locatives.

Gishu (8)

The material available is very meagre, but one finds the loc. pref. *ha–*, *ku–* ("on"), *i–*, *mu–*, and occasionally *wa–*. Gishu is to a great extent dominated by what Johnston has termed the "*ha–* disease", so that adverbs formed with *i–* are uncommon and it is difficult to decide whether they are nouns in class (9) used adverbially, or adverbs. However we have *inyuma*, behind, and *iburangisi*, the leading place when marching. *I–* is the subject in *iriyo*, there are there, and in the alternative form *haliyo*, the suffix is also *–yo*. The only demonstrative adverb mentioned formed with *i–* is *ila*, yon place. *I–* is used for "to and from" a country, place or "home", e.g. *iBunganda*, *iMbale*, *iwefwe*. And "at home" is *ingo*, *ingo wase*, my home. (Note *wa–* used for place in *iwefwe*, our home, cf. Ganda, *ewaffe;* Nyoro, *owaitu;* and *Kutsiye wa Mwasa*, He went to Mwasa, Mwasa being a person.)

Nyoro (9)

The "*N*" Class (9) prefixes are *e–n–* or *e-ny–*. Except for the adverbials suffix *–yo*, there seem to be no traces left of *i–* or its derivatives, for even the adverbial phrase, behind, is *ha nyuma ya*. Maddox remarks: "The suffix *–yo* refers to a

place at a distance. It is much more limited than *-ho* and must be used with caution.

Baliyo? Are they there? (inquiring after a man's friend)

Rugayo, Go away from there, or, (sometimes) come here."

"Our home" is represented by *owaitu* which Maddox thinks is constructed with cl. (1) initial vowel *o-* and possessive in agreement, but more likely I think, on analogy with Gishu and Ganda, the *wa* loc. pref. has persisted, and *o-* is the i.v. of *ku-*, for *ku-* in Nyoro suggests a spot of very limited area.

Ganda (7)

The "*N*" class (9) prefixes are *e-n-* or *e-ny-*. If one makes out a table of the derivatives of the pronominal prefixes of class (9) and compares them with the locative forms derived from *gi-*, the correspondence is complete, so that it is only by the meaning or the context that one knows whether they refer to a noun or are adverbial. Similarily with adverbs, for we have seen that adverbs are always formed with a loc. pref., so that we can not always be quite sure whether the word is a noun in class (9) used adverbially or formed as an adverb with the prefix *e-*. There are some adverbs which are unmistakable: *ebweru*, outside; *emmanju*, behind (of a house).

We note that *Gindi* means "such-and-such a place" in which the preprefix is not contracted to the initial vowel. We have the relative objective prefix *gye-*, the i.v. *e-* formative of the demonstratives, and the suffix *-yo*, and all these three formatives are locatives as well as concords of the "*N*" class (9) nouns.

Demonstratives

Leaving out those formed with *ku-*, which are entirely concerned with "place on top", and *mu-*, concerned with "space inside", we are left with *wa-* and *e-*:

Wano, *awo* and *wali* represent definite spots, here and yonder

Eno, *eyo* and *eri* represent (a) less definite spots, "here-abouts" "there abouts" (b) *eri* has a special use. (Cf. *ku-* in Swahili.)

In (b) *eri* is the place where the person named is at the time of speaking, a sort of apposition of place and person, e.g.

Agenze eri omwami He has gone to the chief

Agenze eri Musa He has gone to where Musa is.

Place Names

Verbs of motion "to" or "from" (Doke's "locative verbs" (3)) require a loc. pref. to the noun. This rule is not absolute in Ganda for *e-may* be prefixed before the names of countries and towns, e.g. *eBuganda*, *eNnamirembe*, these types of places being regarded as "*N*" class (9) nouns.

Home

The word *eka* (pl. *maka*) is used for "home" and is adverbial, for if it were in cl. (9) it would be *enka;* but it is treated as if it were in cl. (9). It can be described by *waffe*, (*wa-a-ffe*) place (*wa*) of us, or, likewise *waMusa*, Musa's home; and following the rule that a possessive is converted to a pronoun by the addition of an i.v. we get *awaffe;* there is also an adverb formed with the i.v. *e-*, *ewaffe*.

To these one can add the adverbial noun *emmuga*, the watering place at a river, (*omugga*, (3)). In Buganda all rivers are swamps, and the watering place is on the side of the river in the reeds which, is kept cleared and clean. *Emugga* has the cl. (9) i.v. and is therefore in line with *eka* or with *eBuganda*, in which *bu-* is class (14).

Crabtree (7) recognized that *e-* is a locative used generally speaking for certain types of places only and that for other types *ku-* is used e.g. *agenze kukibuga*, he has gone to the capital, *kulusozi* (hill), *kumugga* (river).

Two problems arise from this: (a) why some words are used as if they were in class (9), and (b) why the i.v. *e-* is omitted (or added) in certain constructions.

Relation of Loc. Prefix gi- to "N" Class

Since we cannot postulate a *gi-* locative in Ur-Bantu, all we can say is that this locative occured in the Nyanza Group and has persisted in Ganda and Gishu along with the *gu-* class (20), plural, *ga-*. Thus *gi-* may be either an

ancient form, or a purely local development. It *could* have originated from the noun, for such words as *ensi* (country), *enju* (house) in Ganda, are frequently, perhaps universally, nouns in the "*N*" class in Bantu. Thus "house", etc. became associated with the concept of "place", and rather a particular type of place, the place where people live. It would be difficult to accept this as an explanation if it were not for two facts.

(1) The common practice in Bantu of placing in classes (1) and (2) kinship terms or titles, recognizing that these refer to human beings, though in form they belong to another class.

(2) In Ganda *lwe* (when) stands for *olunaku lwe* (the day on which), and *bwe* (also when) stands for *obudde bwe* (the time or space in which), and is used if "time when" is indicated with less exactitude, i.e. the adverbs of time are derived from nouns. When time is indicated with more exactitude *we* (from *wa*) is used. But although we find *kulunaku luli* (on that day), *kwe* is reserved for "place on which" and is not used for time.

An easier way out is to accept *gi–* as an Ur-Bantu locative prefix which has disappeared from other Bantu languages in exactly the same way as *gu–* (20) with its plural *ga–* have been supperseded by other forms. We find examples of class (9) nouns being used as adverbs of place in, I think, nearly all Bantu languages; and one can surmise that such nouns are not in class (9) by accident, for class (9) contains words of association, represented by kinship terms, common objects associated with mankind, including his house.

Rules for the Use of the Locative e–

In Ganda a complete noun is formed with an i.v. which is omitted in certain constructions and we note that in Gishu the *o–* of *omundu* or the *gu–* of *gumubano* are omitted in similar constructions. This is not to say that *all* nouns in Ganda have an i.v., for *inter alia* personal names have no i.v., or titles applied only to one person. Adverbs of place are constructed with a locative prefix, *wa– ku–* or *mu–* and *e–*, but with this difference, *wa– ku–* and *mu–* are never omitted, whilst *e–* can be omitted. Place names, being proper names normally have no i.v., but when used adverbially are supplied with an *e–*.

The following examples should make this point clear:

(a) With *e–* omitted:

In answer to the question where so-and-so is or lives:

Ali (asula) waffe	He is (lives) at our home
" " *waMusa*	" at Musa's home
" " *Mmengo*	" at Mengo

In answer to the question where someone has gone:

Agenze waffe	He has gone to our home
" *Mmengo*	" " Mengo
" *ka*	" " home
" *bweru, (mmanju)*	" " outside, (behind the house)
" *mugga*	" " the watering-place
Agenze Kampala okugula engoye z'abaana.	He has gone to Kampala to buy clothes for the children

In contrasting two places:

Agenze Mubende so si Mmengo okugula ente	He has gone to Mubende not Mengo to buy cattle
Agenze waffe so si waMusa	He has gone to our home not to Musa's

In these sentences the emphasis is on the place, and it would appear that, as the word can only apply to one particular place, the i.v. is omitted. Also the place is the direct object of the verb.

In the case of other loc. prefixes, these are retained because without them place is not indicated.

Ali kukibuga	He is at the capital
Asula mukibuga	He lives in the capital
Ali (asula) mumaka gaffe	He is (lives) at our home

(b) In all other cases the locative *e–* is retained or added:

Omukyala agenze eKampala okugula engoye z'abaana	The lady has gone to Kampala to buy clothes for the children

Omukyala agenze ebweru okulaba omupagasi	The lady has gone outside to see the workman
Omukyala agenze emugga okuleta amazzi	The lady has gone to the watering-place to fetch water

The emphasis is on the reason for the action, the direct object rather than on the place, the place being of secondary importance, and is purely adverbial. In addressing an envelope, the place takes an i.v., e.g. Mr. A. B. Smith, eKampala, because the emphasis is on the person, and the place is informative, i.e. adverbial.

To complete the picture of Ganda locatives we have noted that for some types of places *ku–* replaces *e–*, and we can note that *wa–* is used with a slight difference in meaning to replace *gi–*:

W'oli? or *Gy'oli?*	Are you there? (a greeting)
Wendi or *Gyendi*	Here I am
Nnamirembe nnungi or *walungi*	Namirembe is nice

The conventional reply to a greeting asking after some one is *Gy'ali* (he is there), and we see that *wa–* can replace *gi–* in Ganda, just as *ha–* has partially done in Gishu, and completely in Nyoro.

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BOOK REVIEW

The History of the Gold Coast and Asanti. C. C. REINDORF. 2nd ed. (Basel Mission Depot, Basel.) xii +351 pp.

This book purports to be a 2nd edition of a book with the same title published in 1895, and comes out under the aegis of Reindorf's son who remarks that "the matter in the first Edition has not undergone any radical change with the exception of a few alterations here and there which have been found necessary, and corrections of the dates." No date of publication is given for this second edition.

No mention is made that considerable portions of the first edition have been omitted. Thus the first edition has the following pages xvi+356. The second edition has xii+351, of which 16 out of the 351 are new, i.e. a biographical sketch of Reindorf senior. Consequently the difference in pages is between 356, 1st ed. and 337, 2nd ed. A loss of 19 pages does not appear very serious until one looks into the matter. Thus comparing

pages 92 in the two editions one finds that in the 1st ed. there are 40 lines to a page as against 37 in the second; that there are 425 words to the page in the first and 290 in the second. On this one page there is a difference of 135 words in favour of the 1st edition. Call the average loss per page between the two editions at 110 words per page, then the 1st edition has approximately 40,000 more words. On the analogy that the Greek New Testament has some 27,000 words and the English New Testament some 19,000 I presume the editor of the second edition can say there has been no radical change. Enough has been shown however to make the 1st edition the authoritative one and not the pruned 2nd edition.

The history is fashioned on the type of history that Reindorf senior learnt at school—namely a wearisome record of the inconsequential turneys, skirmishes, victories and defeats of puppet kings.

The stuff that matters, the social structure, the cults, the customs of the common people is scarcely touched upon. To supplement legal arguments in the courts on the ancestry of minor local stools the history may have uses but until modern times are reached the history has little value.

The story that the whole Gold Coast was under the emperor of Benin is without foundation. It may have been under the domination of the Yoruba kings but not of these of Benin who derived from Yoruba. In J. O. Egharevba's *A Short History of Benin* there is no hint that the kingdom or empire of Benin ever included any part of the Gold Coast, and Egharevba is a Bini.

Yoruba tradition has it "that the Yoruba sway once extended as far as Ashanti and included the god of Accra. . . ." (Johnson, O. *The History of the Yorubas*. London: 1921. p. 15.) So this inaccuracy stands.

This second edition has a new photograph of Reindorf senior and inside the covers front and back is a modern map of the Gold Coast, but it, like the first edition, has no index. The possible explanation for there being no index is that the names of many places in the book are not recorded on the map. M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Jeqe, the Bodyservant of King Tshaka, Dr. JOHN DUBE, translated from Zulu by Prof. J. BOXWELL. (Lovedale Press: 1951.) 84 pp., 4/3. This is a translation of the late Dr. Dube's novel *Insila kaShaka*. It is a careful, painstaking piece of work, and reflects the mastery of Zulu achieved by Professor Boxwell, late professor of classics, who has turned his interests to this Bantu language. Nevertheless the translation is sufficiently free to make it very good reading in English. In giving any appreciation of this publication the work of Dube must, of necessity, take precedence. *Insila kaShaka* has been considered as one of the most perfect examples of the best literary Zulu; it was referred to whenever a standard for literary purposes, for translation work, for dictionary collection, was required. Of it the late Dr. Vilakazi wrote in his appreciation of Dube, when the latter died in 1946, "In fiction, Dube's *Insila kaShaka* marks a turning point in this branch of Nguni literature. It stands artistically self-sufficient and innerly controlled and makes an impeachable [*sic*] combination of military and aesthetic interpretation of Shaka's regime" (*Bantu World*, 16.2. 46). For my part, I consider the first half of the book superior to the later parts as regards the theme; there is a lack of continuity in the career of Jeqe directly he commences his training as a doctor. But the book is redolent of the place and the times; Dube has avoided the extravagant myths which have grown around Shaka's name; and he has given what seems to be an unbiassed portrait of the tyrant.

Professor Boxwell has done a great service in rendering this little book into English. Hundreds, who can never expect to read the Zulu original, are able to read the product of the mind of a great Bantu leader. As did the translation of Mofolo's classic *Chaka*, so will this, better relations between Black and White in this country, by raising mutual respect. One would have liked a foreword from the translator appraising Dube's contribution to his people's advancement: perhaps it will come with a second edition; and then, too, it would be well to substitute a typical Zulu in the frontispiece for the Swazi inadvertently used. C. M. D.

THE TONE OF VERB STEMS IN XHOSA

E. WESTPHAL

SYNOPSIS

A short list of disyllabic verb stems with their final position infinitive tone pattern indicated. Three tone types are differentiated, two of which Xhosa has in common with other Southern Bantu languages. The third tone pattern must however be related to a historical stage where the vocabulary was subject to the same influences that produced long vowels in some Central Bantu languages. This process however affects only the high-toned verb stems and not the low-toned ones. Thus the number of low-toned verbs is greater than either the high or the mid-toned verbs. The occurrence of the mid-tone pattern cannot be associated with nasal compounds, which, in some Bantu languages, automatically produce vowel length before them.

One of the basic problems in a non-comparative synchronic tonal study of Southern Bantu languages is which of the many tonal levels to recognize as significant.[1] It is obvious that this recognition is no problem to the African speaker, although he may not be able to explain the tonal structure of his language. It is a problem which affects the systematic study of these languages and therefore a problem for the linguistic investigator. If the great variety of tonal levels occurring in any Southern Bantu sentence was to be minutely recorded—as it could be by a mechanical or electrical apparatus—it would soon become apparent that the details so isolated are far too complex for practical use.[2] At the same time, certain regular features may emerge from such a detailed recording and it is these regular features that form the subject of a linguistic analysis. These regular features can be heard far more easily than seen. Although the visual discrimination of the eye is greater it is less disciplined for linguistic purposes than the auditory discrimination of the ear.

In observing these regular features the investigator will find that, with verbal predicatives, certain regular features are confined within the *tenses*, but, at the same time, there are almost no tenses which can be reduced to a single tonal form. By further investigation this resistance can be localized to several "points" in the predicative. One of these "points" concerns the verb stems. In other words there are different tonal types of verb stem which operate against the tense patterns.

In previous studies on the Southern Bantu languages the peculiar tonal behaviour of the verb stems was discovered before their differential behaviour in the tenses was noticed. Endemann in Pedi,[3] v. Warmelo in Venda,[4] Th. and P. E. Schwellnus in Venda,[5] Doke in Zulu,[6] discovered that different kinds of verb stems could be found according to their intonation in their isolated infinitive and imperative form.

That these lexical tonal distinctions present themselves first to the investigators perception is not surprising, since (a) an investigator deals with many more "words" or stems than he does "sentences", and (b) the tonal variety in verb stems is very much smaller than it is in sentences or in the tenses. The emphasis on the lexical entities in previous studies was further deter-

[1] N. Trubetzkoy's phonological method, described at a later stage, makes this possible.

[2] We are not dealing with the inherent inaccuracy of such a detailed recording from the linguistic point of view, nor yet are we concerned with the reasons for these inaccuracies since they arise out of features not falling under the title of this paper. Generally speaking, machine recordings contain more detail than the ear "hears".

[3] *Wörterbuch der Sothosprache*, Hamburg : 1911.

[4] *Tshivenda-English Dictionary*, Pretoria : 1937.

[5] *Die verba des Tši-venda*, MSOS, vol. VII.

[6] *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, Johannesburg : 1926.

mined by the fact that it seems easier to deal with a language by studying the lexical entities first, the lexical entities thus receiving the greater attention.

There is a disadvantage in beginning a study of a language with an investigation of the lexical entities by themselves or apart from their context, and that is that the investigator may easily be led to believe that the tonal distinctions he discovers in his study of the lexical entities are not important in the sentence behaviour of these entities, or that their tonal behaviour in sentences is unpredictable. Investigators in the past, while they noted the different tonal behaviour in verb stems, have certainly failed to pursue their observations in their investigations of the sentences. The result has been that while we have a good deal of information on what tonal groups there are in languages, we have relatively little information on the behaviour of these tonal groups in sentences. Dr. A. N. Tucker, in his Suto-Chuana Phonetics and in his recent paper on the Sotho and Nguni orthographies (BSOAS, 1950), has shown how the tonal analysis can be carried out for sentences. Both of these studies are, of course, outline studies, but sufficient information is contained in them to serve as a basis for a more detailed study.

I am, in this paper, only concerned with the tones of verb stems. For this study I choose the infinitive form when used in final sentence position or in internal or initial position. The tones of verb stems listed in Doke and Vilakazi's new *Zulu-English Dictionary*[1] are those of the imperative, e.g. 3.9 *ɓetha* and 6.3 *ɓeza*. This fact is, incidentally, not mentioned in the introduction and may be misleading. For disyllabic verbs the imperative tone pattern is shown in their dictionary while for trisyllabic verb stems they have shown an unidentified[2] pattern 3.2.9. This pattern is the same for all trisyllabic verb stems whether they are formed from such verbs as *ɓona* 3.9 (see), e.g. *ɓonana* 3.2.9. (see one another) or from such verbs as *lima* 6.3 (cultivate), e.g. *limela* 3.2.9 (plough for). All these stems are listed in the *Zulu-English Dictionary*. The imperatives of *ɓonana* and *limela* may show quite different tone patterns.

It is therefore quite clear that we should choose a single tonal form consistently if we wish to compare the tonal types of Zulu. It will not do to use an imperative as our basic tone in one case, and an infinitive as our basic tone in another.

In examining the disyllabic stems of Zulu listed in the *Zulu-English Dictionary*, it will be seen that the majority of such stems have either the tone pattern 3.9 or 6.3 (in their imperatives). We may therefore assume that these represent two main tone patterns if we can show that such patterns as 6-3.9 arise out of phonetic features. In all, with the exception of about 15–20 disyllabic verb stems (out of a total of nearly 1,200) we can show that such patterns are due to phonetic features. Thus e.g. when a stem with the 3.9 tone pattern begins with *b–* it assumes the tone pattern 6-3.9, or when a stem with 6.3 ends with the syllable *–nga* then the tone pattern appears as 6.6-3. In view of this regularity we have made the only possible assumption viz. that the infrequent patterns (e.g. 6-3.9, 6.6-3, etc.) are in fact irregular, and that this deviation from patterns 3.9 and 6.3 is due to the consonants (the effect of these consonants being the lowering of high tone "Anlaut" or beginning).

An examination of C. M. Doke's *Zulu Phonetics* will show that these effects and their treatment as variants of certain tonal nuclei, were already recognized in 1926. It is unfortunate that the study was broken off then and a synthesis not attempted. But no-one should criticize this for the method of analysis was a phonetic one and was brought to a logical conclusion in both the *Phonetics* and in the *Zulu-English Dictionary*. No other method than the phonetic had been applied by Doke (and Vilakazi) and the stated aim of his phonetic investigation was to describe the sounds of Zulu, and no more. A different type of question has to be asked if a simplification of the variety of tonal data recorded in a phonetic study is to be achieved. The phonetician asks

[1] *Zulu-English Dictionary*, C. M. Doke & B. W. Vilakazi (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg: 1948). [2] Possibly, the "isolated" stem pattern.

himself what a sound, made in a certain way, sounds like, and he asks himself how it is made. These questions Doke has answered to the full. The question that must be asked now is what linguistic system do the tones of Zulu represent. It is at this point that Trubetzkoy's phonological method is applied.

Briefly, Trubetzkoy's method can be applied as follows: All disyllabic verb stems which are phonetically identical are compared and are then examined for differences in tone. Thus we may find *thanda* 3.9 (like) and *thanda* 6.6-3 (plait). These two stems differ in both syllables, since they are imperatives, and we must therefore speak of tone patterns. Although we cannot compare the syllables we can say that there are two distinguishing patterns in the imperative.[1]

But the most important observation to be made here is that which N. Trubetzkoy himself made about the Zulu tones on examining Doke's examples:[2] " . . . Aus der von C. M. Doke aufgestellten ziemlich langen Liste von Wortpaaren, die ausschliesslich durch die Tonhöhe (bzw. Tonbewegung) der Silben differenziert werden, geht nun hervor, dass die betreffenden Wörter immer zu zwei verschiedenen 'Tontypen' gehören." The point being that there cannot be more than these two tone types for each syllable. Unfortunately Trubetzkoy was working (a) from insufficient data and (b) on the assumption that the tonal nuclei isolated by Doke on phonetic criteria were each of them of equivalent phonological value. This is of course not so especially in those nuclei in which the ideophonic examples occur alone or predominate. Trubetzkoy therefore came to the conclusion that there were three basic tones and not two. Trubetzkoy was bound to come to this conclusion for another reason in that he also drew the Zulu prefixes into the comparison. But this question belongs to grammatical phonology, whose importance Trubetzkoy had not realized.

From the points mentioned here in connexion with Zulu it is clear that in our study of Xhosa we must not use the imperatives. It is further clear that only those tones will be marked which can be shown to be of distinctive potentiality, and which, if there were two phonetically identical words, would make the difference in articulation.

Now in Xhosa the disyllabic verb stems have the following main tone patterns:

(a) (HL) FL i.e. (*uku*)*ɓona* (to see) with the falling penult as the sign of the ultimate sentence position of the word. (¯ _ \ _) *

(b) (HH) LL i.e. (*uku*) *lima* (to cultivate) with a low falling penult as the sign of ultimate sentence position of the word. (¯¯ __)

It will be noted that the Prefix is HL in one case and HH in the other, the tone of the *–ku–* always being the opposite of the root-syllable tone. Now if these infinitives are used in subjectival position, i.e. before an adjective or before their predicative, they will have the tone patterns:

(a) (*uku*)*ɓona* (HL) HH . . .
(b) (*uku*)*lima* (HH) LL . . .

There are minute differences in quick speech, but none of them may transcend the limits set by the phonological perception of the speaker. If they are ignored it will be clear to the Xhosa speaker that the speaker is a foreigner.

In the Southern Bantu languages there are usually only two tonal types of verb, whereas with nouns the number of tonal types depends on the number of syllables. But in Xhosa there is a third tonal type which also makes its appearance in the infinitive. This is a phenomenon of tremendous importance, whose significance the tonological layman can only appreciate if we

[1] The syllables could be compared in such nouns as e.g. *inyanga* 2.3-8.8-3 (moon) and *inyanga* 2.3-8.9 (doctor). In these two words only the final syllable differs, the one being Low (L) and the other Rising. If we compare the pronunciation of these two words by some Zulu speaker we shall hear that the rising part of this syllable is of lesser prominence and clarity than the part which sounds High (H). Thus here we are dealing with L and H final syllables only. The tones here used, and recorded also in the *Zulu-English Dictionary*, are those found in the final sentence position or before certain syntactical types of adverb. The differences referred to will be heard even more clearly when these two words are used in Subject position. There they will more clearly assume the tone pattern HLH (moon) and HHL (doctor). [2] *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, Prague : 1939, p. 183.

* Owing to difficulties in printing it was not possible to show the phonetic tone marks, as intended. *Editor.*

once again repeat that, in the Southern Bantu languages, viz. Venda, Karanga, Manyika, Zulu, Tokwa, Pedi, Kgatlha, Ngwatu, Suthu, Zulu (which the writer has investigated), the disyllabic stems all have only two patterns in the infinitive, e.g. *uvhona*, LHH Venda, *kuona*, LHH Manyika, *gubona*, LHH Kgatlha, *ukuɓona*, HHHL Zulu (to see) and *ulima*, LLL Venda, *kurima*, LLL Manyika, *gulima*, LLL Kgatlha, *ukulima*, HHLL Zulu. Except for the prefixes, Xhosa has the same two types which are the same as Zulu. But besides these two types there is a third one with a large number of words in it. This third pattern is HHML. In this case the tone of the infinitive *–uku–* remains high since it is followed by a mid-tone and not by a high tone.

Many of the Xhosa words with this intonation pattern were found to correspond with those words Prof. C. M. Doke wrote with long vowels in his Lamba Grammar. In other words this strange tonal behaviour is correlated with a missing vowel-length in Xhosa. Since the high-tone, the mid-tone or the low-tone can occur before a syllable with a nasal compound, it will further be seen, by comparison with other Bantu languages, that this vowel length is independent of these nasal compounds. In some languages, e.g. Ganda, a vowel before a nasal compound or after *–y–* and *–w–* is automatically long. However, in Xhosa the mid-tone does not occur automatically before nasal compounds or after the semi-vowels, which is here interpreted as: that the Xhosa "long" vowels were not automatically affected by these consonants. A list of some Xhosa disyllabic verb stems is attached in which these three tone patterns are marked as follows:

(*ūku*) *ɓòna* i. e. (HL) FL (to see)
(*ūkū*) *lima* i.e. (HH) LL (to cultivate)
(*ūkū*) *ɓètha* i.e. (HH) ML (to beat)

It is the latter tone pattern which, in the other Southern Bantu languages, is identical with the *ukuɓona* type of pattern, and which, in those Bantu languages which employ significant vowel length, corresponds to the high-tone verbs with long vowels. These are the final position patterns.

Many interesting observations can be made in the vocabulary list, e.g. (1) Why are there so many stems with clicks which also have the mid-tone type of pattern?

(2) Why, in this random vocabulary, are there almost no high-tone verbs beginning with *–g–*, *–gc–*, *–gq–*, etc.? In Zulu too there are several such consonants which never appear in a high-toned root.,

(3) The infinitive pattern for the high-tone verbs changes as follows:

ūkùdlā (to eat) HFH
ūkuɓòna (to see) HLFL
ūkūɓònàna (to see one another) HHLFL
ūkūɓònākala (to become apparent) HHMMLL

The requirement of a high-tone root seems to be that it should be tonally distinct from the preceding syllable of the infinitive prefix.

H and M stems:	*L stems:*
	B
bàla, write	*buba*, die-humans
	bula, thresh
	bunga, consult
	Ɓ
ɓèka, put	*ɓala*, count
ɓètha, beat	*ɓamba*, arrest
ɓìka, report	*ɓanga*, cause
ɓìza, call	*ɓanga*, claim
ɓòna, see	*ɓila*, boil, sweat
ɓonāna	*ɓola*, rot
ɓònākala	*ɓonga*, praise
ɓòpha, tie	
ɓophēla,	
ɓophīsa,	
ɓùka, admire	
ɓùtha, gather	
ɓùya, come back	
ɓùza, enquire	
ɓùmba, mould	
	C
cànda, chop wood	*caca*, become clear, understood
chàsa, be against, oppose	*chaza*, comb, explain
cèba, discuss problems, consult	*cinga*, think

cèla, beg
cìma, put out

dèla, despise
dlàla, play
dlùla, pass

fàka, put in
fàna, resemble
fèza, complete
fìhla, hide
fùna, want
fùnda, learn
fùnga, swear
fùya, breed
fùza, to take after

gcòba, be merry

hàmba
hlòla, spy
hlùma, sprout
hlùtha,

jìnga, swing
jìya, become stiff

chitha, throw away
chola, pick up, uproot beans
chuma, be fruitful
cula, sing

D

dada, swim
dala, create, form
dana be disappointed

F

fika, arrive

G

gcina, keep
geza, mad
ginya, swallow
goba, bend
gqiba, finish
gqitha, surpass
gqwetha, turn back to front
gula, sicken
guqa, kneel
gweba, judge
gxeka, mock, criticize

H

henda, tempt
hlaba, pierce
hlala, sit
hleka, laugh

J

jija, twist
jika, turn round
juba, bounce far
jonga, look at

khàla, cry out
khànda, hammer, forge
khòla, be satisfied
khòka, attract, draw to it
khònza, serve
khótha, lick
khùla, grow
khùza, sympathise
khwèla, get on

K

khaba, kick
khapha, accompany
khohla, mystify
khupha, take out
khanya, light
khetha, choose, prefer

làhla, throw away
làla, lie down
lìnga, try
lùma, bite

L

lamba, get hungry
lila, weep
lima, plough
linda, wait
luka, mean
lunga, be good

mànya, join together
mèma, invite
m'ka, go away
mìtha, conceive

M

mila, grow

ngèna, enter
nika, give
nqàba, be difficult
nqànda, turn/ send back
nyùsa, raise
nyùka, go up
nyùla, choose from many

N

naba, spread out wings
ncama, give up
nceda, help
ncipha, grow less
nchwaba, bury
netha, rain: get wet
ngunda, become mould
nqhenqa, recline
nqhina, witness; testify
nqina, be thin
nquma, be half dry
ntʃula, sprout
nuka, smell; stink
nxhama, hurry
nxiba, wear
nyanga, treat, cure

O

òna, do wrong
òpha, bleed

P

phátha, touch
phèmba, light fire
phèpha, avoid
phèza, and
phòla, become cool
phùma, go out

phahla, surround
phanga, rob
pheha, cook
phika, contradict
phosa, throw
phupha, dream
phila, live

thènga buy
thètha, speak
thèza, gather firewood
thìmba, capture
thìya, hate
tóla, shoot arrow
tsìβa, jump
tʃhisa, burn
tʃhòna, sink
thùma, send
thwàsa, moon begins, have witch doctor qualities
thwèsa, same as *thwalisa*
tyàla, plant
tyèla, tell
thwàla, carry

tsala, drag
tʃhaya, smoke

tyhafa, be weak
tyhala, push

Q

qàla, begin
qáʃa, choose
qèʃa, hire
qina, be firm

qaβa, paint
qhela, be accustomed to
qonda, understand
qhuβa, drive
qumba, be cross
qwenga, tear to pieces

ɭ

ɾola, drag
ɾweβa, trade.
kɾwempa, scratch
kɾwela, draw a line

vúka, wake up
vúsa, arouse
vùya, be glad

vala, shut
vela, come from
vula, open
vuma, consent
vutha, blaze up
vuza, leak

S

sèla, drink
sènga, milk
sèza, give water
ʃiya, leave behind
sìka, cut
sìnda, escape
sìnga, go towards
sònga, wrap up
swèla, lack

sinda, smear
sitha, be snug, sheltered
suka, go away

W

wela, cross

X

xhàla, be anxious
xhàsa support = *thwesa*
xhèla, slaughter
xìnga, stick fast
xòka, tell lies

xela, tell
xola, be at peace

T

thànda, love
thèmba, hope

thamba, become soft
thoβa, bend down

Y & Z

zàla, become full
zàla, beget
zùza, gain

yala, give advice
yeka, leave alone
zola, be calm

BEADS AS REGULATING THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ZULU AND SWAZI

REGINA G. TWALA

SYNOPSIS

Very little has been written on the subject of beads among the Bantu. The following information has been collected from the Swazi of Swaziland Protectorate, and Zulu of eMangwaneni, Bergville, Natal. All facts are from personal observation and conversation with the people of these tribes, in their own environment. Regulating the social life of the Zulu and Swazi, beads are here treated as social sanctions of social codes; as tokens of love between young people in different tribes. The literature of beads with vocabulary is given, and colours and designs explained. Beads as decorations for status, and rank are discussed. Finally how to decipher bead patterns is explained.

BEADS are an ancient commodity. They have been found in the ruins of ancient cities of Nineveh, Greece, Rome and Britain. Glass beads have been found buried with Egyptian mummies. They are made of various seeds, stone, bone, metal, glass and from ostrich egg shells such as were made by the Bushmen in South Africa. There are also certain types of ornaments made of wood, shaped into round pegs and pierced across, although these may be given a different name by the tribes using them, one would also class them as a type of bead, since they are perforated and are strung like beads.

USES OF BEADS

The Southern Bantu tribes all use beads both for ornamental reasons and for other purposes as well. Importance is attached to both colour and design. The Zulu have taken to beads more than any other Southern Bantu tribe, then come the Amandebele or Mapoko tribes as they are usually called. The Xosa, Sotho and Swazi make little use of beads in comparison with the Zulu, who wear much finery. A young man of Zulu origin will wear string upon string of beads in various designs and colours, sometimes covering the whole thorax region with bead work. Because these men get their beads from their sweethearts, the more girls a man has, the more beads he will wear. A family man will sometimes wear beads to signify the number of wives he has.

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS SUPPORTED BY SANCTIONS

Every society has its sanctions, so that the individual will be guided in his behaviour by following certain prescribed obligations. From childhood therefore the individual is trained to fit into the social scheme by means of a body of observances and traditions. Because primitive people cannot put their codes of conduct in writing as the more civilized races do, some invent a system by which the individual will be guided indirectly. Among the Bantu beads have been used as a regulating agent in the social life affecting the young people; in matters of sex relations in particular.

Writers on the social problems of detribalized Natives in Urban areas repeatedly mention the fact that there is no longer any effective public opinion among town dwellers; that Africans have no longer those sanctions which controlled their form of society; that delinquency is appalling because of the lack of parental control over juveniles. This article aims at explaining one item ou[t]

of many which were used as methods of controlling youth in Bantu society.

Among the Zulu and Swazi beads mark certain stages in the development of both a young girl and a young boy; beads further mark the various stages in the development of love; from what we may call calf love to romantic love and finally terminating in marriage. Love making has never been a private affair amongst these tribes, every one in the village knows who is already mature for marriage. Beads were some of the outward signs which showed every one in that society the exact position of feminine affairs. Just as much as it was once compulsory among members of the western culture for a girl who is engaged to wear her engagement ring in public, so also these Bantu had a number of distinguishing objects of various designs in bead work showing the young wooer how far to go.

BEADS IN THE REGULATION OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Among the Swazi when a child is born it wears no beads or clothing, at this stage the mother and child are still impure and have to keep away from the public, the husband is not supposed to go where the child is. Marwick in his book: *The Swazi* mentions the fact that the child may not be seen by its father before it has been *lalatelwa* because it might get very thin and probably die. The word *ukulalatela* means to sing a lullaby, when a child is born into a Swazi kraal it must be initiated into the family so as to be recognized as a human being, *umuntfu*. It takes four months for a baby to start moving in the uterus and proving that it has life, and after it is born it takes another four months for the mother to be purified from the impurities connected with child-birth. It is only then that the child must be shown to the new moon to start the real life of human beings and be given a proper lullaby *ukulalatela*. Before this ceremony the *lalala* sound is not used.

In reality when the Swazi say that the child must not be seen by the father, all that they mean is that the father may not go in unto the mother. When a man talks about his children he means his wife — it is *ukuhlonipha* — decency. A man will say: "*Ngikhanuka aßantaßami*"— "I long for my children," when he means that he longs for his wife. For a first-born child the mother waits for four months before the custom of *ukulalatela* takes place, and for the following babies only two months.

After the baby has been shown to the moon, the mother must make a string of white beads for the baby to wear round the waist, the wrists and ankles, then can the father go into the mother's hut. This action is called *kufumbatisa umntwana ligadze*. He takes a piece of earth and hands it to the child and he can then have sexual intercourse with the mother, at this time they say that the baby will benefit by gaining more strength and vigour, and if a baby is a weakling they will say that it is because the father went in unto the mother before it had worn the white beads. The baby wears them until weaned then it can wear a different colour.

Little Zulu girls wear only one string of beads round the waist, ankles and wrists until they have reached maturity. As soon as a girl falls in love, she must make a simple string of beads all one colour, this is called *ucu lokuqoma*, a string for falling in love. This she gives to her first lover to wear round the neck, then she makes a similar one for herself for the waist, wrist and ankles. If one met a group of young girls one could tell immediately which of the group had recently fallen in love, and which were too young for love affairs. Until now the girl had been called *litshitshi*, then *lijongosi* when her breasts are full; but as soon as she falls in love and wears the special beads, she is called *iqhikiza*. After this she will be permitted to wear any kind of bead, and to beautify herself for young men to admire her.

LOVE LETTERS

Since people of primitive culture were illiterate and could not read and write, some devised ways and means of communication. Courting letters are expressed in bead-work. It is the women who send bead letters to their lovers, therefore

communication was one sided, unless young men asked their sisters to make bead letters for them.

Once a girl was fully grown and had fallen in love, she would set herself the task of sewing bead designs for her sweetheart expressing her desires, aspirations, conflicts; in brief her joys and sorrows. The young man would cherish such a letter and he would never part with it even for money because it became part of himself; he would wear the beads whenever there was a gathering and he was well dressed, it was a symbol of his conquest, therefore it could not be classed with those things that are of commercial value.

Whenever I go to Swaziland many of my European friends always ask me to bring back some bead-work from the people and if I tell these people that one cannot buy these things they do not understand the reason. It would be as if you went up to a European lady wearing a ring and asked her to sell it to you. Such things are not bought and sold because they are part of the culture of the people, they help in the formation of the general set up of society. Perhaps a man could be persuaded to sell some of the beads if his young woman has rejected him, but even that is very rare, because these beads form part of what we would call documentary evidence, even if a young girl does reject a man by sending a bead-letter, later on it may be necessary to prove that certain relations once existed. If for instance a girl, after rejecting a young man, finds that she is pregnant, and she accuses her late lover, the man in trying to escape a fine may produce the rejection bead-letter as evindece against the charge.

Every district had its own cipher for bead love letters, and if a young man found it difficult to decipher a message he would ask his sisters to help him in solving the problem. All girls are good in deciphering messages because when they sew these beads they are always in groups consulting one another. It is interesting to note that whereas an ordinary letter is a private thing, a bead love letter is open for inspection by anyone who knows the cue. The system of reading these love letters was based on the principle that symbols represent words, and words ideas. Sometimes beads stand for letters, threads of beads for words, then the pattern would stand for a sentence, a complete thought. The sentence may have a double meaning. The article itself usually stands for a complete message. In reading a message therefore one takes note of the meaning of the colour of the bead, its position in the pattern, the background on which it is fitted, the sex of the person to whom the message is addressed or her social status.

The colours that are used to-day by both the Zulu and the Swazi are not the exact shades that existed in olden times. Beads, like dyed wool, may not keep to the same strength of dye for several years, there are always slight variations. The principal colours are white, red, blue, green, yellow, pink and black. Then there may be different shades of the same colour and also shades between two main colours. The meaning also depends on whether the colour is transparent or opaque. White beads of various sizes, opaque white, not glass, are called *uɓuhlalu oɓumhlophe* or *ithambo*. Such stand for all that is good, and have cleansing and purifying powers called *inkanyiso*. They appease ancestors, bring luck, and represent the heart, love itself, and all light coloured objects. Such beads are likened to the purity of the sea sand and are sometimes referred to as *isihlaɓathi solwandle*—sea sand.

Blue is divided into the following shades: Azure – *isibakabaka* (sky); *ulwandle* (sea). Navy – *ufefefe*, stands for talkativeness, gossip. Dark – *ijuɓa lehlathi*, forest-pigeon. Greyish – *isende lenkawu*, the testicles of a monkey. Light – *ijuɓa lentaɓa*, a mountain-pigeon.

Red, two types, opaque red, *uɓuhlalu oɓuɓomvu*. It stands for blood, tears. Then there is glass red, transparent, this stands for fire *umlilwana*, anger, a red heart.

Green – *uhlaza*, it stands for grass, implying cattle, the veldt.

Black – For a kaross, a symbol of marriage, it also stands for evil, disappointment, misfortune.

Yellow – *iphuzi*, a pumpkin, also signifying a garden.

BLUE AND WHITE band, *intothoviyane*, a type of greenish spotted locust whose habit is to hop in pairs one resting on the back of the other in mating.

SHELL PINK – I am told this is a new type of bead, *uɓuhlalu ɓesilungu*, but it resembles a bead that was used long ago called *imfiɓinga* mostly used by courtiers. During the days of Mpande the Zulu used to *swear* by this type of bead saying: "*Ngiyihulule imfiɓinga*" meaning that, if what they said was not true, they would rather enter the palace, which act in those days meant death. This bead if used by commoners signifies poverty.

BEAD MESSAGES

In writing out a message the key word is the "heart" always in the first person, the designer, with a message addressed to the second person, the lover. Messages centre around the following leading words; love, marriage, kraal, family, cattle for *lobolo*, happiness, sadness, good and evil. There are about twenty or more different designs worn on the head, across the shoulders, round the neck, wrists, ankles and waist. The most popular are the following:

1. *Ucu olumhlophe lokuqoma* – a single white thread.
2. *Ingusha* – worn round the neck with a little flap in front.
3. *Ingcagcane* – neck wear.
4. *Iqaɓane* – another neck wear.
5. *Ixhuɓe* – Mixed colours which are made into sentences and sewn in various ways.

These are some of the messages:

Pattern A

o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o
(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)
–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o
(f) (a)
repeat twice.

(a) WHITE: *Ngisho ngenhliziyo yami emhlophe ɔthe qwa.* I say this with an open white heart.

(b) BLUE: *Ngithi kudela ijuɓa lona lidle.* I say, Oh for the dove that picks food.

(c) WHITE: *Eɓaleni kwenu.* In the yard at your kraal.

(d) RED: *Uyadela nowotha umlilo eziko lakwenu.* I envy also the one who enjoys your fire place.

(e) WHITE: *Noma imhlophe inhliziyo kepha.* Although my heart may be pure.

(f) PINK: *Wena umpofu.* You are poor.

Pattern B

o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O
(a) (b) (c) (d)

(a) WHITE: *Inhliziyo yami.* My heart.

(b) BLUE: *Iluhlaza njengolwandle.* Is as blue as the sea.

(c) DEEP BLUE: *Ungafefezi ngami eɓantwini, nami ngeke ngifefeze.* Do not gossip and back-bite me, I shall also do likewise.

(d) PINK: *Noma simpofu njalo.* Although we be so poor.

Pattern C

In this design white forms the whole background and signifies a whole situation, then bits of white in between are an emphasis on the central theme.

o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o
(a) (b) (a) (c) (a)
–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–
(d) (a) (e)
o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O–o-o-o-o-o–O–O–O
(f) (a) (g)

(a) WHITE:
Ugcala ɓagcove, ɓafana ɓasemzini,
Akukho-muzi ongakhulumi,
Nakwandlwana kuyakhulunywa,
Nasemanxuluɓeni kuyakhulunywa.

The one who frowns at you, you strange boys,
There is no kraal that remains silent,
All kraals must eventually speak,
Even in a one-kraaled village they speak,
Just as in a big kraal they speak.

(b) BLUE AND WHITE: *Ziyadela izintothoviyane ezifa zibelethene.* The spotted locusts rejoice for in their death they cling to one another.

(c) GREEN: *Ziyajabula izinkomo ezidla utshani emasangweni akini.* Lucky are the cattle that eat in the green pastures passing through the gates of your kraal.

(d) YELLOW: *Sengathi ngingazopheka lawo-maphuzi alapho kini.* Oh, if I could come and pick those pumpkins from your garden.

(e) BLACK: *Ngisho ngesidwaba sami esimnyama.* I would then be wearing my black kaross (skin skirt).

(f) RED: *Inhliziyo yami ibomvu.* Yet my heart is red (sore).

(g) YELLOW: *Ngoba nakhu umpofu ngasezinkomeni.* Because you are poor and have no cattle.

This is a message from a girl who has long been in love with a certain young man who feels that they cannot go on loving indefinitely, she feels that she is now grown up. The white expresses that she has been bound to speak openly because there comes a time in every kraal when decisions have to be made, be it in a small kraal of a poor man or in a big kraal of a rich man. She expresses her desire of wishing to remain with this man for life till death just like the locusts. The time has come for her to wear a kaross which is a bridal dress and is only for married women. She says I want a kaross, I am grown up, I want to enter through the gates. Cipher and colours as used by the Emangwaneni tribes, Bergville District, Natal.

1. OPAQUE WHITE: *Ubisi*, milk. *Ithambo*, bone.
2. BLACK: *Isitimane.*
3. OPAQUE GRASS GREEN: *Umamlambo*, green snake.
4. OPAQUE RED: *Umgazi*, blood.
5. TRANSPARENT RED: *Umlilwana*, fire.
6. OPAQUE DEEP YELLOW: *Utuvi benkonyane* calf excreta.
7. OPAQUE PINK: *Imfibinga*, at times it means beer.
8. PALE BLUE: *Inkosazana*, a young girl, daughter.
9. DEEP BLUE: *Ijuba lasendle*, forest or mountain dove.
10. GREYISH BLUE: *Ijuba lasekhaya*, common dove.
11. ROYAL BLUE: *Inkankane*, a species of a noisy bird of migration.
12. TRANSPARENT GREEN: *Amehlo ekati*, cat's eyes, for wealth.
13. PALE YELLOW: *Incombo*, for married women.
14. DARK GREEN: *Ibuma*, river grass.
15. WHITE WITH BLACK OR BLUE STRIPES: *Intothoviyane*, type of locust.

The article in Fig. I with three flaps is a necklet which was worn by a married woman who has been widowed. She is from *Emangwaneni*, Bergville, Natal.

This particular neckwear contains the life story of a widow who has no desire of marrying again. The necklet is called *uMaphapheni* derived from *phapha* to flap or fly, it gets its name from the three flappers that hang in front, *amagcebetsha.* The colours used are:

1. WHITE: *Ithambo*, bone.
2. BLACK: *Isitimane.*
3. TRANSPARENT RED: *Umlilwana.*
4. LAVENDER BLUE: *Inkosazana.*
5. LEAF GREEN: *Umamlambo.*
6. PINK: *Imfibinga.*
7. OPAQUE YELLOW: *Uthuvi benkonyane.*

You begin reading from the centre front at *B*, and you proceed anti-clockwise, that is from left to right and round ending up with the small flap. The white forms the background. Reading from *B* you get the following story:

BLACK means: "I am a widow."

RED: I did kindle a fire, so I have had a home of my own.

Ngawubasa umlilo

Note that when the young man's people negotiate marriage for their son they will address the bride's people by saying: "*Sizocela umlilo*" or "*Sizokokha umlilo.*" We have come to ask for a fire-brand.

GREEN: My husband was rather treacherous.

CENTRE WHITE: o o I am the fourth child in the family.

LAVENDER BLUE: o I am one of the three daughters.

Design C

The key line is black, so the story begins by saying: "In my widowhood . . ." Here the same story is repeated but in contrast there is more black appearing with lines of pink, *imfibinga*. Many black beads singnify that the father of this widow was a well to do man with herds of cattle and besides there was always beer in the home as a symbol of affluence. The last line in the design is blue for *inkosazana*.

Design D

This is the belt that goes round the neck, the background is white, and it has three distinct patterns which are repeated.

Design E

Colours follow one another in this order: pink, black, yellow, black, pink. This means that I (the widow) would have had cattle and beer in my own kraal were it not for the disgraceful treatment shown by the presence of the yellow in between these colours.

Design F

The order of colours is: black, blue, red, blue, black. The key word is *umlilwana*—red, which divides black and blue. The meaning is that the young woman though widowed has no desire to be asked to make fire again once more in this kraal. Here, lighting a fire for the second time would mean *ukungenwa*, to be taken by her husband's brother in order to raise seed. If the brothers of the deceased man visit the widow she wears a necklet of this particular design to scare them away and save faces if she feels she does not care for *ukungenwa*. *Umlilwana phakathi kwenkosazana kanye nokumnyama emacaleni.*

Design G

Order of colours; yellow, black, pink, lavender blue, pink black, yellow. *Inkosazana phakathi kwemfibinga.*

This reads: "The man no longer loved me when he died he had already rejected me." The reversal of the order of these colours would give a different interpretation altogether. If the colours were in this order: yellow, black, lavender blue, pink, lavender blue, yellow. This would mean that when he died I had already rejected him, which is centre pink surrounded by blue. *Imfibinga izungelezwe inkosazana.*

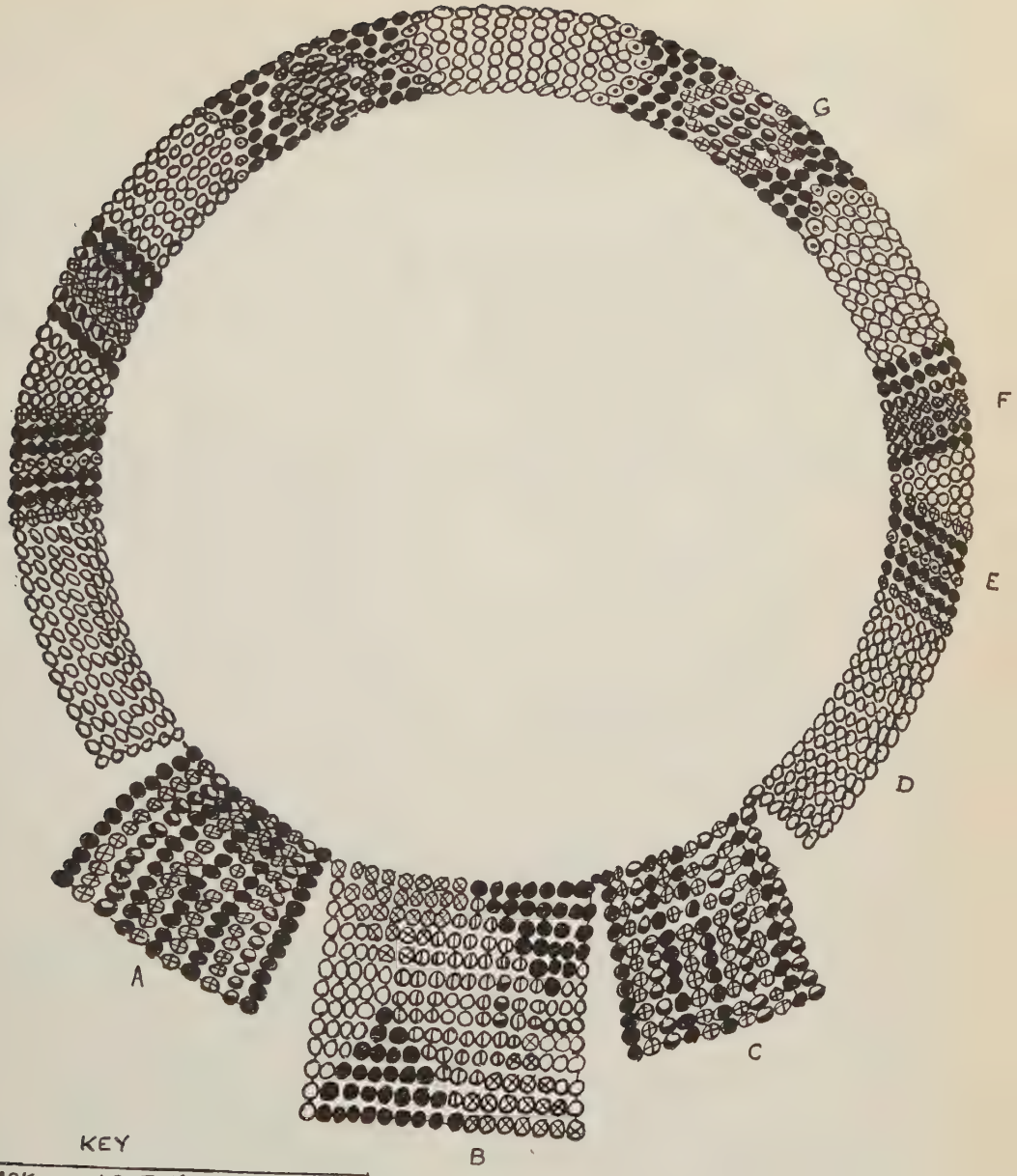
Design A

This is almost the same as *C* except that *C* has a border of black on one side and another of blue on the other side. This last flap has a black border on both sides which signifies that the woman wishes to remain a widow, the path of another marriage is closed.

BEADS AS CONVEYING EVIL MESSAGES

Black Beads

These beads are never used by themselves except when a young girl has been rejected by her lover. If the girl goes to a man's home to *ukugana* prepare for marriage, and the young man has changed his mind and objects to such advances, the girl goes to other maidens of her *intanga* "age-group" and tells them, because every young girl in matters of love was responsible not to her parents but to the girls of her own age-group. She dares not go home in this dark cloud but must go through a purifying ceremony with the other maidens. They all get black beads and they march with them to the young fellow's hut and there scatter them in the yard, after which they seize a goat belonging to this kraal and drag it to the river. They kill it with their hands only, skin it, remove the contents of the stomach and cleanse themselves with this preparation. They then eat the goat which is called *isahhukulu*. The girl will then pass on to another kraal to try her luck. The rejection of a girl was considered a very serious matter. It was said to be immoral because if a man was not pleased with the girl there was always an open gate to taking another wife and so avoiding a surplus of unwanted women. If the girl herself felt that she had changed her



KEY

●●	BLACK – ISITIMANE
⊖⊖	LAVENDER BLUE – INKOSAZANA
⊕⊕	GREEN – UMAMLAMBO
⊗⊗	TRANSPARENT RED – UMLILWANA
⊕⊕	PINK – IMFIBINGA
○○	WHITE – ITHAMBO
⊙⊙	YELLOW – UTUVI BENKONYANE

Fig. I

mind about a man she would make a necklet of the pink beads for poverty. This would be carelessly sewn and would be left unfinished with no buttoning loops to show that the connection has been severed and the heart has been rendered poor and send it to him.

Inkankane—Royal Blue

A young man disappointed about the character of his sweetheart may ask his sister to make a necklet for him so as to present it to the girl just a day before an important tribal ceremony. The rule is that if beads are sent by a sweetheart they must be worn in a public gathering of young people.

A pattern which means: "You are a woman of an immoral character" is designed in the following fashion. The colours used are:

1. WHITE: This forms the background but is dotted all over with the other colours.
2. DEEP BLUE: *Ijuba lasendle*, mountain or forest dove.
3. ROYAL BLUE: *Inkankane*, a wandering noisy bird.
4. TRANSPARENT RED: *Umlilwana*, fire.
5. YELLOW OPAQUE: *Uthuvi benkonyane*, calf's excreta.
6. PALE YELLOW: *Incombo*, not worn by unmarried women.

The pattern begins with yellow instead of white.

YELLOW: *Wena ufana nothuvi benkonyane.* You are like the excreta of a calf.

WHITE: *Isimilo sobuntombi bakho simabalabala.* Your purity is full of smudges, spots.

RED: *Endaweni yoba ngabe uhleli kahle wotha umlilo.* Instead of settling down and basking by the fire.

DEEP BLUE: *Ujabule njengejuba.* And be happy as a dove.

ROYAL BLUE: *Kodwa uyandinda unomsindo njengenkankane.* You are as restless and as noisy as the *inkankane* bird.

PALE YELLOW: *Kwenza umuntu abusole ubuntombi bakho.* Therefore one doubts your virginity.

RED: Appearing several times in the pattern means that the girl delights in kindling fires all over the place.

YELLOW: This is one thread forming the border of the necklet and worn on the neck side right round the neck.

BEADS AND MAGIC

Emadloti, the spirits of ancestors delight in beads, if they are to be appeased beads must be used. White beads play a prominent part, they stand for all that is best and pure. The supernatural beings may be harmful to society at different times and therefore white beads are used at such times. Those who use the white beads a great deal are the *isanusi*, diviners. The *isanusi* call white beads *ithambo*, bones, meaning the bones of the dead, they represent the ancestors who are bones. A full-fledged *isanusi* covers himself with opaque white beads, some are worn on the head and they hang in veil-like fashion over the region of the eyes right round the head. Some beads are worn round the waist, arms, wrists, ankles and as sashes over both shoulders. These beads fortify the man against the apparitions that are said to possess him. An *isanusi* gets his wisdom from the *emadloti*. They speak through him, he is their agent therefore in their presence he must appear in white beads. When the *isanusi* is first initiated into this new life he is given a short single string of white beads to fasten on the hair at the back for the purpose of *ukukhanyisa amadloti*—to pacify the ancestral spirits.

With the *isanusi* who throws bones one finds that two of the bones are tied up with two strings of white beads. These bones are representatives of ancestral spirits male and female, that is, those of the father's clan and those of the mother's clan. Before the *isanusi* reads one's fortune, he asks for *inkanyiso*, that is something white to make the path clear. In the olden days the *inkanyiso* used to be white beads or a white goat, nowadays it is a silver coin.

In doctoring a patient suffering from an incurable disease a white bead is often added to the medicine and remains in the calabash at the bottom as the patient drinks the medicine. This is a prayer to the spirits to add healing powers to the

medicine. There is a particular type of medicine which must be bought from the ancestors before it can be dug up. The plant grows on the mountain-side and a white bead is placed on the plant first, the bead is then removed and the plant dug out and in its place the bead is buried. A female *isanusi* if compelled to go and dig medicine roots at a time when she is menstruating, removes the white beads from her hair, holds them in her hand until she has finished digging. She drops a white bead in the hole to maintain the purity of the medicine.

BEADS IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

Marwick gives in his book: *The Swazi*, an account of a marriage ceremony and he mentions certain stages where beads play a part. When the bride arrives in the evening to *gana*, be officially bethrothed in the kraal, she is met at the cattle kraal gate by her in-laws, then she goes to an old woman of the kraal who usually sits in a convenient place to be seen. To her the bride says: "*Ngite kukhonta*" (I have come to pay allegiance) so saying she drops a string of white beads in the old lady's hands. The old lady will ask her if she comes legally and she will reply that she has come with the full consent of her parents. The old woman is a link between the dead and the living so she takes the beads on behalf of the ancestors because the bride has come to *konta* not to her husband but to the clan as a whole, past and present.

At another stage of the ceremony just before the consummation of the marriage, the bride performs a ceremony of rolling white beads very fast in her hollow hand, and the groom is supposed to pick one out neatly without letting it fall, each time he fails to pick the bead the young girls deride him for they say that he will also fail to consummate the marriage. They say: "Look at him, the fool, he has been so anxious to have it and now that it is freely given to him he fails to take it." This shows clearly that the beads are identified with the woman's purity in this case. For every mistake the groom will pay a fine not to the parents of the girl but to the maidens, as I have explained before that young persons are responsible to their age-groups. Sometimes there is a variation in this ceremony and the bridegroom's sister is sent to pick the beads to save the man the embarrassment of being the laughing stock of the girls.

Beads are used at a latter stage in the day when the bridegroom's people come to slaughter the *ulugege* beast, which is identified with the bride herself and her sexual life. The gall-bladder, *inyongo* from this beast is first handed from one group to the other; the bride's people now disown the woman so they can no longer keep her *inyongo;* the young man's people send it back to them with the hope of getting another bride, finally the game ends in the appeasing of the ancestors by dedicating white beads instead of the *inyongo*, this is called *ukubekela inyongo*.

THE ROYAL BEADS

I had been to Swaziland several times and had spoken to various people about beads, but no one ever mentioned to me that there were special beads that could only be worn by those who were so permitted by the Paramount Chief. It was not until one day I decided to dress myself up in tribal fashion that I learnt about these beads. I had on an *ilihhiya* (cloth) I had borrowed and I went into a fowl run and there got myself white feathers and arranged them in the hair as the Swazi do, I then realised that I was not properly dressed unless I had beads on so I went to a group of young men having a beer drink and I asked one of them who had been with me at a wedding to lend me his beads for the day.

At the mention of this the whole group rose in disgust and said: "You cannot have those beads." Then I pointed out that I had seen many people wearing beads and I saw no reason why I could not wear beads. Then the Swazi who never let out a secret unnecessarily subsided and one man said: "Oh yes, you can wear them as long as you have a beast to pay." After this interview I decided to find out more about these beads.

I was told that these beads are called *usimo-*

hlwane, royal beads, and anyone wearing such beads is fined a beast by the king. In the old days one would actually be killed and people would say *uyahlola*, he is planning evil.

Simohlwane is a pinkish bead of almost the same colour as the *imfibinga* of Mpande which I described earlier. It is not perfectly round and it measures one eighth of an inch. It is worn as a single string and is wound several times to the length required. Young men wear it suspended on the right shoulder and hanging as a sash under the left arm. The second lot is worn round the neck and the ankles—a single thread usually although others may add a few lines. The Swazi are very simple in their taste and they will never be seen with several layers of beads all over their person.

A third lot of beads is made into a bracelet about two inches broad and finished off with a fringe of small beads of the same colour or any other colour. For the long threads the colours that go with *usimohlwane* are red, white, blue and black repeated after each bead right through. Even the Paramount Chief wears the same beads in the same pattern.

The beads are restricted to the following people; all the princes and princesses, members of the royal family wear them, their strings are much more in number in comparison with the commoners. The royal wives use these beads as necklets and bacelets. As soon as a girl falls in love with one of the princes *umntanenkosi*, she must buy this type of bead and wear it so that other young men who meet her and wish to make love will refrain from doing so because it is a crime to compete with royalty.

The beads are also worn by all heralds, page boys, and everyone who comes within reach of any of the prominent royal persons. These beads are a protection and a badge so that the ordinary people may know that they cannot insult or fight the wearers, for if they do, they would be insulting royalty itself. If a messenger is sent to deliver a message and wears the type of bead mentioned, one will ask him if he has been sent by royalty or not, *ukutsi uthunywe yibukhosi na?* If he has, one must by custom salute him saying *bayete* and thank his message as though one were in the presence of the king himself.

All warriors who have been recruited to occupy the barracks guarding the royal kraal wear *usimohlwane* besides any other beads they may choose as ornaments. It is a sign of *umbutho*, that a man is the king's warrior. Young girls take it as an honour to fall in love with one of the warriors who wears these beads for they know that he is a man indeed. He has been through proper discipline and can show stamina in any hardship. Even the commoners claim a certain prestige once they have been allowed to wear these beads. Shops are not restricted in the sale of these beads, but every Swazi knows that no matter how he may envy the colour, he cannot wear it without permission, because these are the king's colours.

The *abelwandle*, medicine men who doctor the king during the *incwala* ceremony, although belonging to the Ndwandwe clan have a hereditary right to wear these beads and also the red feathers of the *igwalagwala* bird. When they travel across the country in search of the prescribed medicines for the *incwala*, they are protected by this badge and may not be molested but are given the best hospitality. On their way back from collecting the sea-water, in every kraal where they put up, they must be given a beast to slaughter. During the December 1950 *incwala* it was reported that one man had fought with these people and had injured one with a spear. Everyone was surprised at this, and they said that the fine for this act would be very high since this was a serious matter, and there was no excuse for not knowing who the herald was because he wore the royal badge.

It would be interesting to find out if the *usimohlwane* beads were one and the same thing as the *imfibinga* of the Zulu royal family, and also if one could get the exact replica of the ancient beads, because the beads that are being used now are of recent manufacture.

THE EMATINTA BEADS

Of importance too are the *ematinta* which are not real beads but are cylinders made out of wood

and threaded to form a sort of neck-wear. The Queen-mother of the Swazi wears *ematinta* round her waist, neck, wrists and ankles. She also wears them as a crown holding the mysterious red feather and lucky seed charms which stand out over the forehead. The *ematinta* I am told represent first, *ilive lika-Ngwane*, the Swazi nation itself. The Swazi say that she holds together the Swazi people and their country, so she must always wear these day and night. Should one of the strings be broken she remains out of the public eye until it has been fixed. She cannot have any conference with anybody without them because she is considered naked.

Ematinta are a prerogative of all royal women and are worn by all mothers who are suckling royal infants. Be they born in wedlock or not he mother must wear them throughout the nursing stage. These *ematinta* are not all made out of the same species of tree. They differ according to the ranks of individuals concerned, according to the position of the mother in the harem.

Here are the various ways in which beads help to keep each person's behaviour within the prescribed sanctions of the group. Beads were sign posts which show a young individual exactly where danger lies, and by them he is constantly reminded of his duty to society. It is interesting to note that the young people were only indirectly responsible to their parents. It was the age-group that had a say in many of the matters referring to sex. Note the case of the young woman who was disgraced by her sweetheart. She did not appeal either to her parents or to the law, but to her other companions who took it upon themselves to put right the wrong.

NOTE OF THE QUARTER

East African Institute of Social Research. The first conference of fellows and associates of the East African Institute of Social Reasearch took place at Makerere College, Kampala, the head-quarters of the Institute, from December 17 to 23, 1950. The conference was attended by the following: Mr. Lloyd Fallers (Busoga); Mrs. Chave Fallers; Dr. Jeanne Fisher (Kikuyu); Mr. Phillip Gulliver (Turkana and Karamojong); Mrs. Gulliver; Professor E. Hoyt (Fulbright fellowship); Dr. Jaques Maquet (I.R.S.A.C. – Banyaruanda); Mr. John Middleton (Lugbara); Mr. Mulira (Research Officer in linguistics, E.A.I.S.R.); Mr. Philip Powesland (Lecturer in Economics, Makerere College); Mr. Cyril Sofer and Mrs. Rhona Sofer (Jinja Survey); Mr. Aidan Southall (Alur); Mr. Brian Taylor (Butoro); Mr. J. W. Tyler (Zinza); Mr. Edward Winter and Mrs. Winter (Bwamba-Konjo); Mr. Wilfred Whiteley (Government anthropologist, Tanganyika – Makua) together with the Director, Dr. Audrey Richards (Buganda); the Secretary (Miss J. M. Fortt); Dr. A. N. Tucker; and Mrs. E. N. Chilver (Secretary of the Colonial Social Science Research Council).

Papers were read on "Field methods and field situations", in which each individual field worker described briefly the characteristics of their areas, the object of their research and the methods they felt to be appropriate for such a study. Professor Hoyt and Mr. Philip Powesland contributed papers from an economic point of view. A preliminary discussion followed on a scheme for the comparative study of African political systems in present day East Africa.

It is proposed to hold such conferences twice yearly.

BOOK REVIEW

Land Usage in Serenje District. *A survey of land usage and the agricultural system of the Lala of the Serenje Plateau.* D. U. PETERS, Agricultural Officer. The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 19. (Oxford University Press: 1950.) 99 pp., 10/6.

Studies of land usage are well to the fore in Africa at the present time, and it is heartening to know that in Northern Rhodesia there is close collaboration in land development between the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and the Agricultural Department.

Mr. Peters' study is based on researches undertaken in the field during fifteen weeks in the period September–December 1945. The Lala of of Serenje District in Northern Rhodesia are an example of an African people with an extremely primitive indigenous agricultural system which is already in an advanced state of degradation and is rapidly causing deterioration of the natural resources of the land on which the system is based.

There are thirteen chapters and a number of appendices devoted to various aspects of the land sitation. They deal with the "carrying capacity" of indigenous agricultural systems, a sample population count and garden measurements; an estimate of the cultivatable percentage of the land surface available, and quantitative investigations concerning yields and foodstuffs, and the havoc caused by deforestation. In its demographic aspect the survey shows the relationship between households and "garden families" and the make-up of these families according to the type of garden they cultivate. Data are also presented relating to the population of the village, the relationship of its members, marriage and divorce, polygamy, village movement and migration; and the effect of these social phenomena on present agricultural practice is demonstrated.

Mr. Peters then suggests measures to be introduced to arrest the otherwise inevitable approach of famine, and in addition a scheme of long-range agricultural development is outlined with an immediate programme for research. He claims that if African agriculture is to be developed in this area the return of a considerable proportion of the absent men is essential. At any one time apparently 44 per cent of the total adult male population (representing some 55 per cent of the able-bodied men) is absent at work outside the district; yet their withdrawal from employment might have serious repercussions upon the agricultural economy unless improvement schemes are instituted with care and foresight. In any event there is always the reluctance of the men to forego industrial wages and urban amenities even when an opportunity of earning an income at home is presented to them.

Now the rehabilitation of native lands is a problem of first magnitude not only in central Africa but also in southern Africa, where the most numerous white populations are to be found. It is as true of the tribes in the Union of South Africa as it is of the tribes in central, west or east Africa, that the system of land usage and the culture of the tribe are so interwoven in a primitive people that no alteration in the former can occur without profound effect on the latter. Rapid change in the agricultural practice of African tribes is in progress and its continuation is inevitable. While our precise knowledge of European influence is still very meagre any light which can be thrown on the problem in any one area should serve to illumine the subject elsewhere.

As with the Native Reserves in South Africa so would it appear with the Serenje Plateau that radical changes are now imperative if the land is to continue to support its people. And as these changes accumulate their total effect will be to eliminate for ever the distinctive features of the old indigenous methods of cultivation.

Scientific research on the lines of this survey will play an integral part in the fight to save the soil of Africa, and in rebuilding stable agricultural systems on scientific lines. L. L.

UMƁENGO — A XHOSA POEM ON THE DEATH OF S. E. K. MQHAYI

LETTIE G. N. TAYEDZERHWA

with translation by

F. S. M. MNCUBE

1.

Umƀiko ufika konwatyiwe,
Amadoda eduda ku kuƀi.
Isibaka-baka singcwengile.
"Yinto ni? Thulani! mamelani!
Ugalelekil' uloliwe wase Zantsi.
Ufike namapheph' endaƀa
Udaƀa lukhulu mzi wase Rhodesia;
Imbongi yesizwe itʃhaƀile!
Usezinyembezin' umzants' Afrika;
Ulahlekelwe, yi ndoda yesizwe.
U-Mngqik' onuk 'imbola nozipho!
Int' engangxengwanga konke!
Ewe. Um-Xhosa oqingqiweyo!
Umf' oƀuchopho ƀuhluziweyo.
Ontyiloza ngokwentaka yohloƀo!
Olwimi luvuth' amalangatye!
Hayi, ƀethu, iciko lamaciko!
Yiloo nto mfo ndini ka Mqhayi
Asikwazi ngeliso lenyama;
Imiseƀenzi yakho ilinqhina.

1.

The men are happy dancing,
And everyone is jolly,
The sky is blue and clear,
A report! silence, listen!
The train arrived from the South,
With news of great importance,
To you in all Rhodesia;
Take note, the papers say,
The poet great is fallen
And Southern Africa mourns,
His death, a national loss,
A perfumed ochred Ngqika,
A stalwart pure and true,
A Xhosa clear in mind,
Who spoke with fiery tongue,
Sweetly as birds can do.
Orator you were to us
Indeed oh son of Mqhayi.
On you our eyes were never set,
We know you from your works.

2.

Uya ƀanga sithi e-Mbembesi.
Sinegunya, nekhwele ngawe!
Siya zidla ngoƀuchopho ƀakho!
Ooyihlomkhulu ƀalel' apha,
Ƀaƀe zizithunywa zika Cecil-Rhodes;
Amadlangqond' esizw'esi-Ntsundu!
Amadod' angamachul 'enduku!
'Thathwa ngokuthenjwa e-Koloni.
'Sicelo sethu sinye qha ngawe,
Sicela intloko yakho yodwa.
Sifuna yembelwe e-Mattopo;

2.

In Mbembesi we quarrel over you,
We are jealous of you, we claim you,
We are proud of you and your work.
Here lie the bones of your grandfathers,
Who journied North with Cecil Rhodes,
The cleverest of the African Race,
All crack fighters they were,
The picked out, trusted Xhosa.
Of you one thing we ask,
We want only your head
To bury it on the Mattopos,

Kuloo-mhlaba wengcwele-ngcwele.
Ngabula nina nathetha naye!
Thina sifun' ukumbedesa.
Msologundini wabantsundu!
Buyani nonke, base Rhodesia!
Yizani kwomkhul' e-Mbembesi!
Niya menywa ke namhla kwa-Xhosa.
Sizokuzimasa lo-msebenzi.
Imbongi yakwantu itshabile.

Together with our holy ones.
Blessed are those who spoke to him,
Give us the honour of his shrine,
The spirit revered by our peoples.
Come away then Rhodesians,
Away to the Great Place at Mbembesi,
Come to the land of the Xhosa,
To dignify with us
The passing of Africa's poet.

3.

'Cingo lubethiwe ngoms' obomvu,
Lusinga kwintunja zone ze-Rhodesia
'Ngen' amagwangqa ka Mzilikazi!
Afik'a-Mandebele amahle;
Epheth' izikhal' ezedabini.
Asikhumbuza u-Phengula.
Zee nkabalal' iintsebe zakuthi.
Yagalelek' iponi ka-Mtasa;
Nemidak' emnyama ya-Manyika;
'Sizw' esingeva sephu namanzi!
Tyhini! Selelaph' u-Mafamombe,
Abil' okwechebety' a-Mazezuru.
'Kudluli mbik' endlebeni zawo.
Ngesaquphe lwaqhum' uthuli,
Kwabakho inkungu libalele!
Yeha! ke, ngu-Lwanika ka-Yetha!
Be sivele satsho nga-Barotse;
Ukudinwa oku balutyhwantsi!
Ewe. Umkhulu nto ka-Mqhayi!
Uxatyisw' ulifa lembovane.

3.

At dawn the telegrams were sent,
To all parts of Rhodesia.
Then entered Mzilikazi's children,
There arrived the handsome Ndebele,
With weapons ready for battle.
They remind us of Phengula.
Our bearded ones were gaping,
When Mtasa's son, short as a pony, arrived.
Then the dark skinned Manyika came;
Neither soap nor water can brighten their colour.
And also Mafamombe arrived,
Amidst a cloud of dust,
With the Zezuru perspiring from marching;
They also had heard the report.
The sun was bathed in dust,
As Lwanika, the son of Yetha, arrived.
The weariness among the Barotse
Had portended the deadly news.
You were great oh son of Mqhayi,
Yet now you're food for the ants.

4.

Hum-hum-hum-hum-hum;
Wanyikim' umhlaba wanyikima.
Yagquma ingonyam' izibika.
Walakahla! wahla-wahla-wahla!
Yophuk' imith' emahlathini.
Yagalelek' ingonyam' e-Mbembesi.
Khangelani phaya engxhingweni,
Sisinyaka-nyaka santon' esi?
Yho! zizilwanyana zehlabathi.
Zikhwenkcel' amatshob' ukudan' oku
Indlov' itsal' umboko kudinwa.
Umvundla sowuthe wac' iindlebe;

4.

Hum! Hum!! Hum!!! shook the earth,
By the tremor the rocks were shaken,
And the lion groaned in response.
Walakahla! wahla! wahla!!
Gracked the twigs in the forest,
As the lion plodded to Mbembesi.
Cast your eyes in yonder gorge,
What moves in that confusion?
The animals of the earth,
Tails between the legs, trudging in their grief.
The elephant hangs its trunk,
While the hare with drooping ears,

Uyotywe yintsango ungatſhayi.
Ufudwan' ucothoza ngasemva;
Inyawo zidumbe ziyi ntaba.
Hawu-hawu! Hawu-hawu-hawu!
Zahlaba umkhulungwan 'izinjea.
Yeha! ke, zathamb' okwemf' izilo!
Isikhalo sinye kuphela nje.
Imbongi yesizw' iphuthunyiwe!

Drugged by dagga never smoked,
Drearily follows the tortoise,
With mountainous swollen feet.
Hawu! Hawu!! barked the dogs,
Yelling at the moon
Dejection has tamed the wild beasts,
And single is their cry,
The poet! the poet!! has left us.

5.

Phos' amehlw' esibaka-bakeni,
Zaneke amaphiko iintaka.
Lifing' iintſiy' ixhalanga kubi.
Ntak' ibubi bungaqhelekiyo!
Tamncwa lizidlayo ngokubaba!
Lisingisa e-Mbembesi kubi.
Kumenywe neentaka zehlabathi.
Nomyayi ntaka yokufa selekho.
Kufa kwe mbongi sekuvakele.
Yhu-yhu wagalelek' usikhova;
Wathi gaxa yedwa ngongcwalasi.
Yhu-imbongi yesizw' itſabile.
Yho! wantyiloz' uphezukomkhono.
Wacul' ingoma yakhe yohlobo.
Kwacac' ukuba kufiwe namhla.
We-thwayi-thway' umcelu yedwa.
Awu! sowukho nto ka mcelu?
Inteth' inye kuphela namhla nje;
Imbongi yesizwe ibiziwe!
Inene iye kweli phezulu!

5.

Cast your eyes upon the skies,
Outspread are the wings of the birds,
How sulky the vulture looks!
The ugliest of the birds.
You beast with pride obsessed,
Fly towards Mbembesi,
Where birds in numbers hasten,
To them the call has come.
Crow, you bird of omen!
You heard the death of the poet,
And so has the owl arrived;
He arrives because it is dusk.
But the poet laureate is gone,
So wails with arms on head,
His sadly hooting song.
Death has come, that is clear.
Comes the Cape wagtail,
And all are saying the same,
Home has called the poet
They needed him in heaven.

6.

Imilambo yagquma yoſumi.
'Zambesi lalephuz' amagwebu!
Victoria ngxangxas' emiſologu!
Ngaxangxas' ibaselwa yiminyanya!
Ithunqa ums' imini nezolo!
Nkungu iguquk' okwelovane.
Eth' ib' iluhlaza ibibomvu!
Nyembezi zama Rhodesia onke.
Zaliphuphumisa i-Zambesi.
Zatſho ngobutyidi-tyidi e-Mbembesi!
Zawumanzisa umhlaba we-te!
Yeha-ke, nasisimanga bethu!
U-Mamlambo ufik' e-Mbembesi.

6.

The ten rivers roared,
Foam filled the Zambesi.
Victoria! you waterfall of the spirits,
Your fires are tended by ghosts.
To-day and forever your vapour rises,
Changing in colour like a chamelion,
Blue this moment, red the next,
These are tears of Rhodesians,
Flowing down the Zambesi.
At Mbembesi fell the torrents,
Soaking all the ground.
A wonder, oh my brethren,
The water snake is at Mbembesi

Nzwakazi iɓonwa ngoosiyazi!
Intlanzi zimlandela zofumi.
Imvuɓu noxam ɓakhona naɓo.
Ɓathi, "Hay 'asingesali nathi!"
'Kutʃhaɓa kwembongi kuyimasi!
'Ncwadi ye-Zityhilel' inqikiwe.

That pretty maiden seen by diviners.
The ten fishes follow,
The hippo, the monitor lizard,
We cannot remain they say,
The poet's death is like a mast,
Is clear like the book of Revelations.

7.

Zakuɓa zidiɓene izizwe,
Zakuphelel' izilo neentaka.
Kwenkcwe kwacac 'ukuɓa kufumntu
Awu! wedlul' u-Gabariyeli,
'Ngelos' enkulu yase zulwini
'Tʃho nge ntʃontʃ' inteth' umfo ka-Kona!
Nkos' endilekileyo ya-Mamfengu.
Watʃho ngelingena-dyudy' ilizwi!
"Akuhlanga lungehlanga noko;
Nikhalelani na ke mz' Ontsundu?
Ndithi mn' ilifa nifiywe nalo.
Ziyindlela iincwadi zembongi.
Inichazele ngoo yihlomkhulu
Inityhilele ngeenkosi zenu.
'Ntsikana no-Hintsa niyaɓazi.
Seyi ɓonga kwa- Phathizitʃixo!
'Man' ixhentsa kuqhuma uthuli!
Iwunduzela ngamaɓal' engwe!
Nguɓo yoɓugqi nempembelelo!"

7.

The nations having assembled,
With fish and animals and birds,
It now became too clear
A man of men had died.
Then came Gabriel, heaven's archangel.
Kona's son spoke poignantly,
That grave chief of the Fingo.
With a piercing voice he counselled,
A common thing has occurred;
Why weep ye then oh sons of Africa?
You've been left a fine heritage,
The poets' books are a beacon,
Teaching you your traditions
And of your ancient kings.
Now Ntsikana and Hintsa you know.
In heaven he sings the praises now.
Dust rises as you dance,
To and fro he waives in the leopard's skin,
That cloak of enchantment and courage.

8.

Khangelani phambili mz' Ontsundu!
Yekani ukutyhwa-tyhwa kusile!
Qinisan' izixhant' okwehafe!
Khumbulani umfazi ka-Lothe;
Ntokazi, yaphoswa lusindiso.
Yaman' ukumbandaz' imin' ezi.
Ɓalekani nemfundo ngeyenu!
Yixhwitheni ngoku kwaɓaseMbo!
Lumkelan' ukutya okwe lawu.
Lona lingacing' ikamva lalo.
Cingan' isizukulwan' esitʃha.
Tyho! yinkinqeni ninga yincami
Yincamathelen' okwekhalane;
Lona lixexeɓulwa ngenkani!
Nakuyifumana yiguʃeni!
Yithwaleni ngeengoɓozi nonke.

8.

Forward then sons of Africa!
Day has come, stop you your doubts,
Strain forward like a noble horse,
Remember the wife of Lot,
She missed her salvation,
Slow in decision she was.
Education, it is yours. Take it,
Snatch the lead from the aɓaMbo.
Take heed and eat not as Bushmen,
They never think of the morrow,
Think of the new generation,
Nurture it, do not forsake it,
Hold to it as a tick on its prey,
Only removed by force.
Once held, safely preserve it,
In closed baskets carry it still,

Mphako wumbi aninawo konke!
Khuɓalo limbi aninalo konke!
Nikakaziwe kwanele ɓakuthi.
Yixwayeni idyokhwe ka-Mqhayi!

For you have no other provision
Nor any charm other than this.
You have laboured sufficiently now
Carry on then the yoke of Mqhayi.

9.

Inen' uligugu lethu Mqhayi.
'Sisidanga sethu sokuxhentsa!
Sivika ngawe ezintʃaɓeni!
Izolo iɓiyimbongi u-Mqhayi!
Namhla nje yimbongi u-Mqhayi!
Ngomso yimbongi umfo ka-Mqhayi!
Uya ziluma apho ukhona!
Uluth' aluphumi endleɓeni.
Inene ungundaɓa-mlonyeni.
Awuɓanga namona ngemfundo.
Awuyembelang' italent 'akho.
Siya kukhulula e-Rhodesia
O! Ndleluɓuthelezi soɓulumko!
Useɓenzile kwanele Zimu!
Intaambo zisele namakhwenkwe!
Imikhont' iphethwe ngamadoda.
Amabinq' athwele imiphanda.
Sonke silwa idaɓi lembongi
Kokwenu nja ndin' imbi yom-Xhosa!
Lenjenjalo ikɻoti ukulwa!!!
Isiphelo

9.

Mqhayi you remain our pride,
An ornamental dancing skin,
A shield among our enemies.
Mqhayi the bard of yesterday,
Is still bard to-day;
The morrow will see him a bard.
He rests yet he bites his lips
And thrusts in his ear a match stick.
In death you remain on our lips,
For your talent was not buried,
We the, Rhodesians take leave.
Father of wisdom, your path is smooth,
Zimu, you have done your duty,
The boys must take up the reins,
The men must hold to their spears
And women must carry their water pots,
The battle of the bard we fight;
Away, to your home you ugly son of a Xhosa,
Depart like a hero after the battle.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The History of Law. WILLIAM SEAGLE. (Tudor Publishing Co., New York: 1946.) xv, 439 pp., $2.

This volume is a notable contribution to the history of law. First published in 1941 as *The Quest for Law*, it is an analysis of the general processes by which rules of law have grown as the result of man's adventurous pursuit of the ideal of justice. The present more prosaic title, *The History of Law*, gives the reader a more accurate impression of its comprehensive scope and purpose, but is less apposite to the colourful story and the interesting manner in which it is told. For whether one agrees with its main thesis or not, this account of the mechanisms and motivations involved in the development of law is so full of human interest and makes such absorbing reading that both layman and student may study it without developing a distaste for jurisprudential profundities. The story will be all the more attractive to the layman because Seagle, though a lawyer himself, does not regard the law as sacrosanct, but appears more often than not to side with the perplexed citizen mystified by the technicalities of our legal procedure and overawed by the majesty of our law. He is perhaps too prone to poke fun at the profundities of legal wisdom, to indulge in humourous, if not satirical, characterizations of jurisprudential doctrines and to accord eminent jurists but scant respect; but there can be no doubt of his skillful use of apt illustrations and illuminating anecdotes, his grasp of the theory and familiarity with the practice of law, and his critical scholarship.

This history is an ambitious undertaking. It reveals an impressive knowledge of the mass of diverse data, not merely on those systems of law — the Roman and the English — which usually provide the basis of jurisprudential theory, but also on primitive justice, archaic codes, administrative and international law. The author has indeed set himself the formidable task of coordinating this mass of material in a way that will throw into relief the organic relation of the processes of law and the structural development of society. "An analysis" so he contents, "of the leading characteristics and fundamental mechanisms of legal systems in various phases of development upon a comparative basis will show that there are only a few basic types of law. While a strictly chronological history of law is impossible in the compass of a single volume, the job can be done as a form of historical typology upon an ideological basis." This ideology is the socio-economic determinism of legal institutions which are considered to have very similar fundamental characteristics at analogous levels of social and economic development. The author rejects unilinear legal development or a universal pattern of legal evolution, but accepts that law has, in respect of its structural complexity, passed through three stages, each representing the hegemony of a particular economic system. There are only three distinctive types of law corresponding to the three stages or levels of legal development and they are designated primitive, archaic and mature.

After dealing with the elements of law and defining law as "a mode of regulating conduct by means of sanctions imposed by politically organized society", the author in Books II, III & IV discusses successively the emergence and characteristics of these three types of law.

Primitive law, the mechanism of control of the pre-legal age, is typical of the level of economy of hunters and herdsmen, a level of only the most rudimentary forms of political organization. Primitive law is not law but custom. The aspects of custom dealt with are indicated by chapters on "Custom is King", "Up from the Blood-Feud", "The Peace of the Kindred" and "The Origins of Property". The general thesis is that the matrix of all law is the blood feud, since custom is gradually shaped into law as retaliation for serious offences becomes controlled; and one of the chief means of preventing the feud is com-

position which has its origin in the lesser offences, not in blood-money as is commonly supposed. These pecuniary indemnifications for wrongs operate effectively as deterrents at an economic level, found among pastoralists and agriculturalists, when people had some wealth; but when wealth increases and becomes concentrated in the hands of a limited class, compositions can no longer serve their purpose; and a new phase in the development of law has to await the emergence of the political state.

Archaic law (Book III) is defined as "the law of feudalism and slavery of societies which derive their livelihoods from agriculture and perhaps handicrafts and commerce". It is characterized by the emergence of courts and of the state. The peace of the Kindred becomes the King's peace which brings with it the conception of regularity in the administration of justice. Seagle deals in Book III not merely with law in the making and the extension of the king's power over the administration of justice, but also with the struggle for the judicial duel, the archaic codes, law and religion and the emergence in Roman law of a secular legal profession which marks the transition to the maturity law. He handles these subjects with skill and insight, but he is on much safer ground in his treatment of the archaic codes and the development and creative role of the legal profession than in his attempt to discredit the view that adjudication has its germs in arbitration and that the origin of law is related to religion.

In an illuminating chapter the author shows that the love of technicalities and formalism is not, despite Maine's contention, a fundamental characteristic of primitive or archaic law; for technicalities and formalism are the creations of professional lawyers who begin to dominate the scene only at a later stage. The legal historian's pre-occupation with procedure is nevertheless justified because the judicial duel and the method of conducting it derive from the blood-feud with three additions that are crucial for the growth of law, namely, the umpire or judge, the principle of party presentation of the issues submitted to the judge, and publicity of hearing. Later, when the increasing control over procedure by court officials and lawyers lead to the multiplication of rules, the judicial duel becomes submerged and the history of procedure thereafter is largely the history of its reinstatement. The development of procedure is traced in various types of law: archaic modes of trial, such as the oath and the ordeal, disappear not because men become more rational, but because of the growth of the power of the state; an economy of trade and commerce brings formalistic tendencies; and to-day still, despite the demands for simplicity, the judicial duel remains formal because of its fundamental rationality in an acquisitive society.

Mature law (Book IV) emerges in two phases: "strict" law and equity. "Strict" law begins in ancient Greece and Rome; it is the law of a quasi-capitalistic economy; and it is characterised by the formalism which is developed by the professional lawyers. Equity is the law of modern capitalism; and although it was developed in Rome, not as in England by a separate court and as a supplementary system, but by magistrates incorporating into their edicts more liberal principles chiefly derived from the *ius gentium*, its effects on procedure as well as substantive law were much the same. In continental Europe it was the law of nature (*ius naturale*) which performed this function of adapting law to the needs of modern capitalism and transforming the wishes of the middle classes into legal propositions. The rest of the story of the development of mature law deals with the creation of modern civil liberties, the assumption of the monopoly of force by the State when it asserts a monopoly of prosecution for crime, the institution of the omnipotence of contract and the embodiment in codes of the precepts of natural law, revealed though they may be to all men by their reason. In this development, according to the author, the force of economic determinism and the part played by class self-interest are always evident. It was capitalism which by the rule of law guaranteed legal equality and certainty to all classes; the severity of criminal law, adjusting itself to needs of security in this world, coincides with the great period of class conflict during the

nineteenth century and finally becomes mitigated by the new criminology which is the product of the middle class reformers; the development from status to contract starts with the insistence of natural-law economists and jurists upon enforcement of promises and is brought to fulfilment by the concept of the juristic person, derived, it is true, by metaphysical jurists "from ideas of individual freedom and the necessity for self-realization", but according to Seagle "only because the theorists did not bother themselves with its economic origins".

Book V, The Vanishing-points of Jurisprudence, deals with the doctrine of judicial review, connected with the emergence of a new form of law, the written constitution; administrative law, the new equity threatening the rule of law but a necessity of modern science and industrialism; and the development of international law which recapitulates the three stages of municipal law, namely, a primitive custom of war and peace, an archaic law of nations which is a branch of natural law, and mature international law.

These slight indications of the scope and orientation of this impressive volume do but scant justice to the learning that has gone into its making. It reveals the author's mastery of the details of the common and civil law systems no less than his appreciation of the role in the growth of law of the great jurisprudential doctrines and his grasp of the general background of historical forces from which the doctrines and the actual forms and purposes of law have emerged. The style of the book is provocative and it will no doubt offend the jurist and particularly the metaphysical jurist, just as much as its exposure of the defects of past and present judicial forms and the ridicule heaped upon thinkers who keep their noses too close to the legal grindstone. No legal writer escapes unscathed from Seagle's caustic pen for "is not jurisprudence only a succession of slogans"; but he reserves his most scornful invective mainly for those who cultivate the art of being methodically ignorant of the dynamic relationship of law and society, erroneously placing the school of critical anthropologists also in this category. Despite these blemishes, nothing is better calculated to widen the horizons of the lawyer than this interpretation of law in terms of its adjustment to the changes in an ever-increasing complexity of society.

Unfortunately this adjustment is seen as governed by the force of economic determinism, though clearly many of the great formative influences even in modern law, such as the law of nature, equity and morality cannot easily, if at all in any significant way, be related to economic determinism. The defects of this ideological scheme are patent when an attempt is made to apply it to the facts of non-literate societies. Either Seagle's familiarity with the anthropological literature is superficial and does not include the modern monographs, or his ideological bias has caused him to disregard unpalatable facts. For, if the existence of courts marks the distinction between primitive and archaic law, then Bantu at the same level of subsistence, such as some of the Eastern Bantu and the Southern Bantu, instead of belonging as they do to different legal levels, should be at the same stage. Mere differences in modes of livelihood do not determine differences in political and legal structure. As Fortes and Evans-Pritchard have pointed out in their *African Political Systems*, the existence or absence of centralized authority and judicial institutions cannot be correlated with modes of subsistence. Both the Bemba and Tallensi are agriculturalists, but the former have, and the latter lack, judicial institutions; or again the Nuer and Logoli who lack courts as well as the Zulu and Ngwato who have a well-developed judicial system are alike in practising mixed agriculture and cattle husbandry. The reliance upon organized judicial procedures and sanctions differs fundamentally in African and American tribes, even where they are at similar economic levels. The ideological formula breaks down completely when we extend the range of our enquiry to Oceania. The Ifugao are agriculturalists and practise debt slavery, but there is no evidence of constituted courts among them.

There are clearly different patterns of the legal system in defferent parts of the world; and some of the differences in their legal forms and norms

have bean pointed out by Anthropologists. That the author has failed to take account of these differences may perhaps be traced to his attitude to the reigning school, as he describes it, of "critical anthropologists who believe hardly any generalizations at all and practically tabu all speculations as to origins" (p. 31) and whose monographs on primitive law he discredits as "anthropology for anthropology's sake . . . and thus often meaningless conglomerations of data" (p. 428). To Malinowski he concedes "the merit of refusing to believe in the primitive belligerency of mankind and the domination of primitive life by religious and magical conceptions" but he can find nothing of any value in Malinowski's analysis of the positive aspects of law and his attempt to discover the primitive equivalent of modern law in its function. Malinowski's conceptions may indeed be vulnerable to criticism but not, as Seagle alleges, because "his rationality and functionalism has led him to misapprehend the significance of custom in primitive life".

[*Note:* Mr. Seagle's book was originally published in 1941 under the title of *The Quest for Law.* The cheaper edition, *The History of Law* is available from South African booksellers for 17*s.*]

It is the author's rationality that leads him sometimes to trace back primitive forms of law by means of pure deduction, for example, in the role he assigns to the blood-feud as the matrix of all law. The available facts suggest that the blood-feud (and not continuous lesser offences as Seagle infers from the principle that breaches are the mother of law) is the origin of compensation and hence civil law; but that the germs of criminal law, the conception of punishment as distinct from restitution, are to be found in the ritual and religious sanctions.

Equally unsatisfactory are Seagle's treatment of the relation of law and religion, his arguments to refute Lowie's analysis of primitive conceptions of property, and his disregard of the evidence that links the beginnings of adjudication with arbitration. Adjudication, he contends, cannot arise from arbitrations because the two processes are fundamentally different, the aim of the one being appeasement and that of the other to secure obedience. It is worth pointing out that the genius of the Bantu legal system is its procedure of reconciling the parties to a dispute; the great aim is to resolve tensions not to decide legal issues; and since coercion is incongruent with appeasement the courts rely not on force but on persuasion. Seagle's arresting analysis of the judicial duel as it is found in Archaic law correctly emphasizes the absence of technicalities but fails to recapture the spirit of the law or of the courts, at least as it is found among the Bantu. The parties indeed present the issues to the court, but the judges, instead of confining themselves to the legal issues, probe into the whole background of tensions that occasioned the contest. The result is not merely a departure from the principle of party presentation as it is commonly understood, but also a conception of the rules of evidence that differs fundamentally from ours: nothing that can throw light upon the genesis of the conflict is ruled out as irrelevant or inadmissable. These evidential rules clearly fit a pattern of justice that aims at securing appeasement. This should warn us that divergent legal orientations in different societies may make the quest for a general theme in the development of law a fruitless one.

This book is worth reading and studying by all those, whether lawyers or students of society or laymen, who are interested in the relation of law to life. J. D. KRIGE.

Principles of Native Law and the Natal Code. W. G. STAFFORD and EMANUEL FRANKLIN. (*Shuter & Shooter*, Pietermaritzburg: 1950.) 374 pp., 42/–.

This is a thoroughly revised edition of *Native Law as Practised in Natal* which was published in 1935 by the Witwatersrand University Press. In compiling this new edition, Mr. Stafford, who has retired from long service with the Native Affairs Department, has had the benefit of collaboration with Mr. Franklin, an experienced attorney who practised at Weenen in Natal and is now in Johannesburg.

A Native comissioner and an attorney make a good combination and their conscientious industry is reflected in these pages. The Natal code of Native Law is here annotated almost as fully as it can be and practitioners in Natal will be grateful for this work. I wish, however, that the authors had let their minds play more freely round their material. I wonder what they really think of the strenuous efforts to apply Native law under nearly all conditions of Native life. They might have given us an introduction to express their considered views. But practising lawyers share with government officials a reluctance to go beyond the immediate point of law at issue, an attitude that no doubt comes from an unconscious desire to treat law as if it were an exact science, not a social science. This ancient habit deprives us of the personal opinions of those well qualified to express them on broad questions of policy.

Two minor criticisms should be made. Where articles in the *South African Law Journal* or elsewhere have discussed important issues, such as the conflict of Native law and Common law or the proper interpretation of section II of the Native Administration Act, why is there no reference to such discussion? Secondly, the title — probably the publisher's choice — is rather disingenous since the one thing that the book does not pretend to do is to elaborate any general "principles of Native law". It is also regrettable that the numerous cases named are printed in ugly and quite unnecessary block capital letters and that the whole production of the book is such as to raise rather than to reduce its price to the public. J. L.

Excavations at the Njoro River Cave: Stone Age cremated burials in Kenya Colony. M. D. and L. S. B. LEAKEY. (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1950.) Illus. Diags.

This is an account of excavations carried out by the Leakey's during 1938 in a cave on the Njoro river which flows into Lake Nakuru in Kenya Colony. Since the rise of the lake during the Nakuran wet phase (about 850 B.C.) would have flooded the cave the deposits in the cave must be of a date subsequent to this.

As could be expected, the excavations were most meticulously done. Indeed, one is amazed at the amount of highly fragile material including charred and carbonized fabrics, plaited cord, basket-work and wooden vessels recovered, while the accuracy of the record is admirable. The cultural remains are described by Mary Leakey, while the cremated human remains are dealt with by L. S. B. Leakey.

The Stone Age industry of the site is "directly derived from Elmenteitan" and includes blades, end-scrapers and numerous crescents as well as a considerable amount of pottery. Seventy-eight stone vessels, crude and roughly made, were found, as well as a corresponding number of pestles and grindstones. Since this number corresponds also with the number of adult individuals represented by the human remains, it is concluded that each adult, male and female alike, was buried with a stone bowl, a pestle and grindstone. Over 800 beads made of such materials as agate, quartz and chalcedony were recovered as well as some 4000 beads made from sedge-seeds and a number of stone pendants, while beads and ornaments of bone were also found.

The second half of this work, by Dr. Leakey, is devoted to the cranial material from the cave, but the limb bones and other parts of the skeletons are not dealt with here. Most of the skulls are very fragmentary and have been reconstructed, while those which are less broken are warped by fire. Had fewer specimens been available for study one would therefore have treated this material with some reserve, but Dr. Leakey is fully aware of this difficulty and has been helped by the comparatively large number of specimens (78) at his disposal. He concludes that the Njoro skulls do not represent a negro or even a negroid people, but are markedly similar to known non-negro Mesolithic and Neolithic races of Kenya which, together with their culture, have disappeared from East Africa.

There is much more of interest and value in this work than we can note here. The method of cremation is described, the beads and ornaments are adequately analysed and even the age at death of the individuals represented by the skulls is studied.

While the culture does not seem to have a direct counterpart in South Africa there is much here which South African archaeologists will need to note, while our physical anthropologists cannot afford to ignore the evidence of the skulls.

B. D. M.

Mythe, Mensch Und Umwelt. Edited by Ad. E. Jensen. (Bamberger Verlagshaus Meisenbach & Co., Bamberg: 1950.) 362 pp.

This book makes its appearance in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Frobenius Institute. The 29th of June 1948 was the actual date of that anniversary and at the same time the 75th birthday of Leo Frobenius, its founder; the delay in publication is explained by the editor A. D. Jensen in the preface as due to the economic difficulties of the Institute. This Institute formerly established as "the Institute of Cultural Morphology" carries to-day the name of its founder Frobenius. Its annual publication *Paideuma* "the Soul of Culture", an expression coined by Frobenius himself in his theory of Cultural Morphology, forms the basis of this new volume. Contributions from men well-known in the realm of cultural research synthesise the manifold aspects of this festival edition into a noteworthy addition to the literature on this subject.

Of the 21 chapters of the book eight deal with African problems. To the reviewer the most novel and fascinating of these is an article on East African Amazons by Harald von Sicard, a Missionary of the Swedish Church in Southern Rhodesia. He collates the solid and convincing evidence, to be found in historical material, of the presence of Amazons in East Africa. He proves a cultural connection in this respect between Asia Minor, Libya and the rest of Africa where similar female warrior legions were found. He could have found additional material in support of his thesis in the reports of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus in early classical times. They actually record reports of Amazons penetrating into Syria, Arabia and Egypt. The reviewer could also add just for record a piece of Archaeological evidence from a fragment of an Amphora from Daphnae in Egypt (now in the British Museum) depicting a kneeling woman with bow and arrow throwing herself between two fighting hoplites. However, von Sicard leaves the safe ground of proved facts and by inference seeks to establish a cultural connection in this regard between the East Indian Archipelago and Africa. His evidence for this is a hearsay report of an island in the Malaya Archipelago populated only by women. He seeks to strengthen his contention with Leo Frobenius' idea of a great Erythryean culture distributed over the islands of the Indian Ocean. The sagas of the Wemale and Marinds from Ceram in Indonesia make mention of women who carry out headhunting and thus fall within the definition of Amazons. The statement of von Sicard's on page 285 of the volume under review that "the presence of Amazons is a further link connecting East Africa with the Asiatic Cultures and the Island Cultures of the Coast of the Indian Ocean" implies that the idea of the Amazons might have originated from two sources that is, not only the Asiatic main land but also Indonesia. But he appears to have overlooked the fact that a social phenomenon like the existence of Amazons falls within the connotation of "learned behaviour" and thus — if the headhunting women of Ceram are Amazons — most probably the cult was carried and spread from one originating source both to Africa and to the Islands of the Indian Ocean. M. von Sicard would travel more safely if he substituted for "Erythraean Culture" the Culture of the Fertile Crescent.

Particularly of local South African interest is the contribution of Southern Rhodesian Fairy Tales by J. W. T. Posselt. Here there are five Fairy Tales prefaced and accompanied by explanatory matter. The latter does not, however, introduce any novel aspect of approach to Bantu

mentality and nature. The translation of more and more Bantu tales, however, should be especially welcomed as a condensation of Bantu life, tradition and belief which may add light to the still vexed and by no means solved problem of the Negro race, including the Bantu.

This brings one to a contribution entitled "Notes about the Negroid Forms of the Races in the African Tropical Forest", by Martin Gusinde. It should prove of great interest to the Physical Anthropologist and the research of M. Gusinde concentrates mainly on the pygmy and negro tribes in the forest of Ituri. By means of careful somatic measurements he gives evidence of the structural differences between the two races, maintained through generations by symbiosis, although an obvious similarity has developed between the two types which he classifies as a forest negro variation. That is as far as he goes. It is unfortunate, however, that he does not go further and substantiate his bold statement that the Negro-protoform "has its origin in the sun-warmed region of the steppe" nor the mystery as to when and by whom the Negro was pushed into the tropical forest where he had to adapt himself to his new environment. It is more regrettable as his otherwise clear and informative article is built on the premise that the aforesaid statement has been proved true which is not the case.

The contribution from the editor of the book is entitled "Killing as a Historical Cultural Phenomenon". This is in conflict with the animistic theory first propounded by Tylor. He explains this institutional killing in its cultural aspects as a manifestation of the effort of man to free the soul of men from the trammels of the body. Jensen explains this institution amongst agricultural people in barbaric society as the desire to recreate and perpetuate life by first destroying it. Jesen's conception is rooted in the myths of India, East Indonesia, New Guinea, and the North and South Americas. He complains of the lack of information regarding Africa "although traces of similar connections are found." In this article he takes as supporting evidence the myth of the Marind-anim of New Guinea. Unfortunately he does not give sufficient weight to the legends of other mundane groups. Shortly stated the legend — his basic premise — is that of the Dema of the Marinds, a being of mythical ages which oscillates between the stages of man, animal or plant. The Dema is a goddess which has to be killed to be created as a mortal human being with the power of propagation. The food-plant grows from the body of the dead goddess, by eating it man consumes the deity. In every subsequent repetition of killing, this creative force is renewed and re-established. In this connection he refers to the initiation rites. This would seem to be an answer to Perry's statement (*Primordial Ocean*, p. 130) "that is not easy to see a connection between circumcision and immortality, yet such is the conviction of the Basutos". There would even be less difficulty about the conviction of the Basutos if more factual examples like that of the Marind legion were available. In the latter cultures of the kings Jensen sees traces of the cultural phenomenon of killing. In the political system, the king represents God and has to be killed to ensure the wellbeing of his people. (In Africa the cycle is usually seven years) It would be of great value if the recent visitors from Cambridge or local students were to examine the problem of the ritual killings of recent years in South Africa in the light of the above conflicting theories. It is common knowledge that in Southern Africa the African not only enjoys in many parts less and less land but that he is winning less and less from the land he has. His first obvious remedy in accordance with his tradition is not to combat soil erosion or reduce grazing but to seek for a renewal of the strength of creative fertility by "killing". An interesting approach which suggests itself to the reviewer in regard to the apparently still irrepressible repetition of the so-called ritual killing in South Africa during the last two or three years may be due to a social desire amongst the culprits stimulated on the basis of a legend complex which will put Jensen's contention as to killing as a psychological factor of the desire to create life in a new light. An interesting phenomenon in this connection is a

West African legend-complex in which "sky-people" demand the sacrifice of a man's son and daughter in order to fulfill the parent's wish for food. It is believed that after three native weeks shoots of yam and koko yam rise from the graves. In this way, the people of Igbo Land tell, the gods have taught human beings to obtain food. (*The Divine Umundri, King of Igbo Land*, by M. D. W. Jeffreys, 1934.) Tales about the killing of the first born son and daughter to get crops can be found among the old Irish, the aborigines of New South Wales in Australia, the Borans of Abyssinia and the people of Senjero in Eastern Africa. (J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, the Dying God*, p. 179–83.) Similar examples of killing, slaying and dismembering as well as the burial of parts of human beings in order to ensure fertility of the crops occur in legends throughout the world. The people of Kampong Trinpaloeng in British Borneo have the following legend. "... Now Kenharingan's people wept because there was no food. So Kenharingan and Munsumunduk killed their girl child and cut it up, and from the different portions of its body grew all things good to eat: its head gave rise to the coconut, and you can see the marks of its eyes and mouth on the coconut till this day; from its armbones arose sugar cane, its fingers became bananas and its blood, padi (rice)." (Ivor N. Evans, *Folk Stories of the Tempassuk and Tuaran Districts*, British North Borneo, I.R.A. I. Vol. XLIII, 1913, p.478.)

The above should suffice to whet the appetite of the prospective reader who is interested in African studies. One cannot, however, pass the review of this book without mention of other contributions which have no particular reference to Africa. Particularly worthy of mention are Adalbert Erler's *Ethnology and History of Law*, and *Architectural forms and the conception of the world in Old Mexico*, by Walter Krickeberg.

In the former the writer shows how the history of law developed from the pure *scientia practica externa* into a wide complex complimented by religious science, by archaeology, psychology and ethnology. Men like Herder the first writer whose universal historic theories embraced ethnology and philosophy; Jacob Grimm who opened the closed gates of history of law to the spiritual treasure of the Romantic Age; Hegel and especially his pupil Eduard Gans; Joseph Kohler and finally Bachofen and Frobenius helped in widening the horizon of the history of law which was hitherto confined solely to Roman and German law. Using the statement of Leo Frobenius, the author argues that from the customs and habits of the so-called Primitives of one's own culture, conclusions can be drawn as to the development of such culture and one's own law, is not altogether acceptable. Although Frobenius is right with the assumption regarding "one's own culture", the argument does not hold ground regarding "one's own *law*". Erler does not hazard a clearcut definition of law on which to focus his conclusion. If we accept Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys' definition of law which was for the first time established in the political systems of the kings, our law can not be traced back to the culture of ones "own so-called Primitives".

Krickeberg's contribution is a well illustrated and detailed description of the pyramid temples of Old Mexico. Myths and legends add blood to the otherwise lengthy work and help the author to demonstrate the symbolic life of ideas within the old Mexican cultural circle. The Sun God, Sun and Sky cult and the ritual of the snake occupy the main place in the religious system of the Aztecs. The author makes no comment at all on the possible origin of these manifestations. He is content with a painstaking description of this culture and its connection with other proto-cultures of the Middle Americas. The material he produces does suggest that the forms of architecture, the sun and snake cult and especially the mention of the pa adise "Tamouanchan" situated in the West, point to an archaic culture which might have come from the West. The Paradise of Tamouanchan is the realm of the dead. Cincalco, the House of Maize, is the mythic cradle of food which is also situated in the West. The same applies to Tollan, the seat of the mountain of the snake and the cradle of all culture. In regard to maize it is the accepted

view of the greater majority of scientific experts that maize did not originate in the West but was indigenous to America. It is interesting to note that a similar problem in regard to cotton was solved by Hutchinson, R. A. Silowo S. G. Stephens in *The Evolution of Gossypium* (p. 59, 71, 80) where in it is demonstrated beyond cavil that cotton, so far from being of New World origin, was first cultivated in India and from there brought by human traffic across the Pacific. The fact that Maudslay stated in 1912 that most of the Aztecs temple pyramids are built fronting the West is another sign of a possible culture migration from the West into Old Mexico. It is hoped that further research by Mr. Krickeberg in myth and archaeology will throw light on the origin of this fascinating cultural complex of the Aztecs.

The titbit of the volume and as such, left to the last in this review is the article entitled *China, the East Caspian Culture and the Origin of the Chinese Writing*, by Robert Heine-Geldern. With this intriguing and most logical contribution Heine-Geldern breaks new ground; figuratively it might be said that he has breached the Chinese Wall which hitherto has jealously guarded Chinese culture as a thing of its own, and free of any suggestion of foreign origin. Material evidence and historical data serve admirably to confirm prior shrewd deductions made by such authorities as Herrlee Glessner Creel, Warren Cox, W. Eberhard and J. G. Anderson. They were amongst the first to give the idea of China's independant cultural development a mortal blow. Based on archaeological findings and by comparing the east Caspian culture (Tepe Hissar, Tureng Tepe, Sha Tepe and Anau) with those of the Pre-dynastic Babylonian period, Heine-Geldern establishes a chronology for the East Caspian culture ranging from 3200 B.C. to 1000 B.C. This chronology is the result of a thorough study of material and immaterial data, the proper collation thereof revealed similarities in form, ornamentation and quality between the East Caspian and the Chinese Neolithic culture of Lung Shan (grey and black pottery). The degree of similarity so demonstrated by Heine-Geldern is beyond the range of coincidence His final and major conclusion is that a migration of the East Caspian culture about 2000 B.C. created the Chinese Lung Shan culture. This conclusion is based on good evidence and good reasoning. Its effect is that the central region of Chinese culture at that time belonged to that interrelated group of cultures which stretches as far West as Middle Europe, eastwards to India, and from Babylonia to the Caspian Sea. On solid scientific grounds Heine-Geldern firmly, step by step, builds his statement to the climax that all neolithic cultures wherever they occur, have, as far as their neolithic elements are concerned a common source. According to his view this focus is found in the region comprising Northern Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. (Neolithic findings in Tell Judeideh, Jerich, Mersin and Tell Harssuma go back to the 6th and 7th century B.C.)

The author's argument regarding the development of the Chinese script is sound. As basis for his argumentation, Kroeber's stimulus of idea diffusion is used plus the adoption of basic script elements from the Harappa script. An instructive map accompanies the article. It furnishes data showing the route of distribution of this script and of the neolithic culture. From Anatolia one branch went North ($\pm$ 4000–3000 B.C.) into the Black Earth Region, another ramification went to Uruk ($\pm$ 3500–3200 B.C.) a direct ray follows the East Caspian culture branching off into the Harappa culture of the region of North West India ($\pm$ 3000–2500 B.C.) and directly eastwards to that of the Lung Shan culture in China ($\pm$ 2000 B.C.) It is this ramification which may account for similarities in the script of the Harappa and Shang cultures.

Taking a bold global step Heine-Geldern takes into his concept the problem of the origin of the script in Easter Island in which he finds the relictual trace of a proto-polynesian culture. Hitherto the tablets with the mysterious writing have been tied up with a suggested bird cult performed on the island. Neither the writing nor the bird cult have any parallels in the Pacific Ocean and according to Kroeber, (*Anthropo-*

logy, p. 378) were devised and invented in the isolation of Easter Island. But as both the bird cult and the writing are cultural phenomena which must be taught through contact with man as culture carrier, one would be inclined to follow Heine-Geldern's contention. He develops the similarities between the writing of the Easter Island and the Chinese script not only in form but in meaning as well. The origin of the Eastern Proto-Polynesian culture is put by him into the China of the 2nd or 1st century B.C. This is not impossible but requires some evidence. It is to be hoped that Heine-Geldern will throw more light on this disputed subject in his book: *Lungshan Culture and East Caspian Culture and the Ancient Near East* which is now in preparation.

Space does not permit a detailed review of all the valuable contributions to this book. The interesting article by H. Baumann on Nyama — the power of revenge — adds materially to the sum of knowledge so far available concerning the African realm of spiritual power and witchcraft.

This festival publication is a positive contribution to the store of human knowledge and will prove of use and enjoyment to the initiated as well as to the layman. In clear print and handy size and attractive, though a simple make-up, it provides an aesthetic frame for a desirable acquisition.

The contributors to this special volume of *Paideuma* have outgrown the scope of its founder Leo Frobenius, but the book is their gift of gratitude to the man whose inspiring ideas gave the impulse to thorough scientific research in cultural fields. IRENE VON OERTZEN.

African System of Kinship and Marriage. Ed. by RADCLIFFE - BROWN A. R. & FORDE, D. (Oxford U.P: 1950.) viii+399 pp., illus., 35/-.

By some curious freak of circumstance the peoples of Western Europe have unusual kinship systems not shared by the rest of the world. Apart from the fact that this has permitted us to develop on political or national rather than on tribal lines, it has made it harder for us to understand native peoples with whom we have been brought into contact. In the first place we make use of a few descriptive terms (son, daughter, brother, sister, mother, father) in a very confined way, applying them only to the basic units of the elementary family. Outside this small circle we classify together certain relations into groups, such as uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces or cousins. In addition our whole pattern of terminology is essentially symmetrical, so that the same terms are extended with equal facility to relations on the mother's and on the father's side of the family. All three characteristics are abnormal; all are unusual in the rest of the world. Elsewhere terms that have to be translated by us as son, daughter, father, mother, brother and sister, in reality cover whole classes of relations. Our terms for uncle and aunt and so forth hardly exist, so that a variety of terms are substituted for them that can only be translated as father's sister, mother's brother, while similarly appropriate terms are used for their sons and daughters. Either the father's lineage or the mother's lineage holds a clearly dominant position in the family.

Classificatory Systems

The existence of these so-called classificatory systems (in which the classes of kin for whom a single term is used are different from the classes which we recognize) was first noted as a curious fact by Lafitau in 1724. By 1871 Lewis Morgan, an American anthropologist, had compiled an amazing collection of kinship terms from various parts of the world. Unhappily at that date the only use for comparative data lay in futile attempts to "reconstruct" social history, very like a jigsaw puzzle built up from a hundred different sources. The effectiveness of the classificatory system as a system was first appreciated some three years later by Sir Henry Maine, but still the fundamental importance of the whole escaped the synthesis of science.

From 1906 to 1908 A. Radcliffe-Brown, then a young Cambridge graduate, undertook field-

reasearch in the Andaman Islands. As a result he began, in 1910, to work out what was then an entirely new and comprehensive concept of human society. He completed the framework of his theory in 1914, but publication was dalayed until 1922 by the first World War. By that time he had had the opportunity to apply his approach to the curious social systems of the Australian Aborigines, and had come to Cape Town to hold the first Chair in Social Anthropology (a term of his own devising) in the world.

A comprehensive Theory

Professor Radcliffe-Brown had been a student of A. C. Haddon and W. H. Rivers, and at the same time he had been a keen follower of the French school of sociology founded by Durkheim in Paris. From this eminently sound basis and as a result of his field work in various areas, the theory of Social Anthropology which he developed was amazingly complete, logical, satisfying, perspicuous and at the same time provided a practical approach to the understanding of the native mind and organization, whether in Africa, Australasia, Oceania, Asia or America. A few scattered papers and an immense amount of lecturing from chairs held at Cape Town, Chicago, and Oxford, mark the slow progress and clearer formulation of his theories.

Very briefly his thesis is that society is essentially an organic structure. In non-political societies this is the natural growth from the elementary family into a lineal group, knit by marriages to other similar lineages. This creates such structures as the clan, the tribe and even the nation. Certain fundamental rules can be deduced, such as the opposition of the sexes, seniority through birth and the importance of lineage, all created within the elementary family and extended to apply to the outside world.

Certain important riders necessarily follow: for instance, evey relationship term indicates the correct behaviour expected between two individuals in a society; all customs have an integral place and value (function) in the social system of the people concerned; hence no custom can be studied out of the context of the structure. This means that the comparative method (by which isolated customs are torn from their different settings) is useless as a scientific approach.

The Principle of Function

Perhaps this brief summary of Radcliffe-Brown's theory is as misleading as the statement that Darwin believed that we are descended from the apes. This theory is as important within its own sphere as was Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest to zoology. Just as in Darwin's case, there is a Wallace in the picture too.

With the creation of Durkheim's school of sociology in Paris the importance of the study of "function" (usefulness) in social custom was "in the air". From different points of view Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski reached many of the same conclusions, for instance the concept of function and the unity of social structure. It fell to Radcliffe-Brown to erect a single logical system covering birth, initiation, marriage and death, primitive law and social organization, and the place of the individual in society. It fell to Malinowski to cover such fields as sex, primitive trade and many curious aspects of social organization. Many of their conclusions are similar, many of them are complementary, though much of their work is very different.

African Kinship and Marriage

In *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, Oxford University Press, 1950), the first eighty-five pages are devoted to a concentrated résumé of Radcliffe-Brown's theory of kinship, one main aspect of his general theory. The other aspects have not yet been fully published, though the whole logical unity is familiar to many hundreds of students who attended his courses at the University of Cape Town in the early twenties.

The remainder of the book consists of a further three hundred pages which clearly exemplify the theory, written by field-workers such as Professor I. Schapera (now at the London School of Economics), by Professor Monica Wilson (shortly to take over the Chair at the University of Cape Town), by Dr. Hilda Kuper, Dr. Max Gluckman, Dr. Audrey Richards, Dr. M. Fortes,

Professor Daryll Forde, Dr. S. F. Nadel and Professor Evans-Pritchard. They have produced evidence drawn from widely different systems in Africa south of the Sahara. Most of these writers have been the pupils of Professor Radcliffe-Brown or of his students. It is this singleness of approach that provides a basic unity to what might otherwise be a disconnected survey of different peoples.

It is the work of the scientist, whether social anthropologist or sociologist, to analyse things as they are and to publish his facts for the use of the administration. For this reason any person who studies the native, either in his social evolution, his contacts with the European, in his tribal way of life, or for the purposes of administration, cannot afford to ingore this book. Perhaps it has been written in the wrong order. It might be well for the ordinary reader to turn first to a chapter on a tribe he knows, then to turn to other tribal accounts for comparative material, and only then to study each paragraph of the introductory theoretical chapter.

No more fundamental and important work has been written in the field of African social anthropology. It brings out clearly the fact that the clan and the tribe are structurally essential to the African peoples, and that, once this pattern has been allowed to break down, it is impossible to reconstruct it. The only substitute for the breaking up of the family, clan and tribal pattern would be the introduction of a political system, based on language, parties, propaganda, and all the evils so typical of our own systems. Presumably this must come, as industrialization is already shattering the social systems of Africa, but it is essential to recongize exactly what is happening, and to appreciate the speed at which it is occurring. A. J. H. Goodwin.

The Mashona and the Matabele. C. Bullock. (Juta & Co., Cape Town.) viii + 310 pp. glossary, index. 21/-.

The proof-reader has not done his task properly. Thus, there is no consistency in the use of *italics* for African words. Sometimes *lobolo* is in italics, sometimes it is not; (p. 53) where also *lobolo* is spelt *lobola*. I am well aware that one is the noun, the other the verb, but here both are used as nouns. It seems that the words *ku cheka ukhama* (p. 87) should be in italics because all the other vernacular words on this page are in italics. On page 157 one *ngozi* is in italics and the other is not. The worst example of inconsistency in the use of italics is in the chapter on language, where, in the part devoted to proverbs, the vernacular is in italics ; where folk-lore is the subject it is the English that is in italics. Why?

The glossary, after a first glance, appears to be in alphabetical order, but one finds that the words have been listed in a careless manner, as the following order of words indicates. *Mupingo, Murongo, Mutendo, Murayi, Mwari, Munyai, Mupakatsini, Muvundu.*

On page 275, footnote 21 reads: "quoted in previous chapter" actually the case is not there quoted, but is quoted on p. 270 of the present chapter. In the index occurs "Rites de Passage, iv" but nowhere in the text is there an indication of these words, nor are the stages of the initiation rites so clearly enunciated that one could readily detect Van Gennep's analysis.

The author remarks that he has avoided "using too many Native terms — a fault for which I was castigated by *The Times Literary Supplement*, in its review of the first edition of the *The Mashona*. . . . we cannot expect to find exact synonyms in the English language. The meanings, if not fully indicated by the context, will be found in the Glossary."

The use of Native words is essential; one then knows what the author is writing about, but either the text or the glossary, or both should give the meaning of the Native word, and it is here that the author is seriously at fault. Native words are used in the text and neither is their meaning explained there, nor do the words appear in the glossary. Here are a few: *chiyingayina* (p. 61); *Ngonya, bgwetete, mhetshe, pa ngoro, ku shungira*, all on page 89. It is thus clear that the proof-reader has not diligently discharged his duties.

The book describes the two main tribes in Southern Rhodesia from the fullness of knowledge that an interested Native Commissioner acquires in the course of years. Books by such men are full of meat: Native social structure and custom are revealed to them from many angles. There is a richness of detail that impresses with the fact that not only is the information first-hand but that it is thorough, because, in addition to personal knowledge, there are always the Government reports of brother officers to draw on.

The book, in spite of its title, is mostly about the Mashona. There are no chapters devoted specifically to the Matabele but comparisons are made between the Mashona and the Matabele.

An important part of the book is the discussion of the legal aspects of Native laws. European law with a number of leading cases quoted for illustration. Certain theories are advanced for the origin of (a) Mashona culture, (b) Mashona totemism.

His previous book *The Mashona* published in 1927 contains 400 pages. This new book, which now adds the Matabele to the Mashona, has only 310 pages, yet from the title one would have expected it to have had more than 400, because (a) of increased information on the Mashona in the interval, and (b) another tribe, the Matabele, is included.

The author in his preface remarks, "When the question of another edition (of *The Mashona*) was raised by the publishers they insisted on something 'new and up-to-date'." As I had read *The Mashona* only a couple of years ago, I was struck by the similarities of many of the passages in the two books. The author does at times mention that he is quoting from his previous book, but there are other times when tha reader would not know that pages in the new are verbatim from the old, e.g.

pages 70–71 in 1927 are pages 209–211 in 1950.
" 74–75 " " " 212–213 " "
" 126–128 " " " 148–150 " "

Speaking of the inhabitants of Rhodesia, Mr. Bullock refers to earlier peoples than the Bantu, now represented by the Watwa whom he refers to as smaller races. It is true that among the Southern Bantu there is a root *twa* (small), but in many other parts of Africa foreign peoples who are by no means small are referred to as Watwa. Watwa could thus merely mean foreigner, just as the word "Galla" does.

Mr. Bullock accepts the northern origin of the Mashona (p. 10) but rejects the possibility that the Zimbabwes may have been built by Galla migrants from the north. "Dr. Louis Thompson boldly states that 'a tribe of Gallas called Mazimbas came from Southern Abyssinia in 1589 and raided the country of Monomotapa where some of them settled forming the Baroswi tribe'" (p. 18). This statement Mr. Bullock counters with the remark. "But seriously, no practical person can doubt that Zimbabwe and a hundred other similar ruins were built by Bantu . . . [and not by] any other people coming down on a visit from an ancient civilization in the Fertile Crescent, but the first people of the country — the Bantu tribes" (p. 14). Wainwright has produced good evidence in support of Galla migrants being responsible for these Zimbabwes (see *Man*, No. 80, June, 1949).

One gathers the impression that Mr. Bullock thinks that the first settled people of the country — the Bantu tribes — were gradually developing a culture of their own, which they owed to themselves and not to anyone else, because, speaking of these Zimbabwes, he says, "they do indicate that the people who built them had developed a culture far higher than that of any of the Bantu tribes new Pioneers found here" (p. 15).

The possibility discussed in *The Mashona* (p. 131) that the name Mlimo for the Mashona god might have been a borrowed one is not mentioned here, but is tentatively suggested as derived from a root *ima*. But if the root in *molimo* alias *modzimo* is *li* alias *dzi* then Mr. Bullock's remark in *The Mashona* that he "got the impression that *mudzimu* meant something shawdowy, etc." fits a derivation for a root meaning, "ghost, spirit", that under the form *chi* is widespread, and is better substantiated than an *ad hoc* derivation form from a root *ima*.

Still with the idea of evolution of culture before

him, Mr. Bullock writes, "It may be of evidential value in indicating how far the Mashona had gone in evolving of their own volition, enough at any rate, to lead the missions to consider it appropriate to use the name Mwari or Mlimo in interpreting the name of the Deity" (p. 145).

Now *Mlimo* is but a variant of *Mudzimu*, and as *mudzimo* is used for ancestral spirits, there is the difficulty of accounting for the monotheistic outlook of *Mlimo*. Here is how the author gets over the difficulty by the help of evolution. "Some confusion of thought, however, there is as to what constitutes the family spirit or spirits. Some say it is not one *mudzimu* only but a plurality of spirits — those of all the forebears of that family and even of their collaterals. To a man of the advanced or perhaps of the esoteric school, however, the family *mudzimu* is not the ghost of his father or grandfather. It is not *midzimu*, a collection of ghosts. It is one — the same spirit his father called on, the same his ancestors sacrificed to, and the same that his sons after him will appease and gratify, if he may be blessed with sons.

"I have here touched on a conception or theory which, so far as I know, is at variance with the conclusions arrived at by other investigators, and differs, it is right to say, from the ideas of many Natives. Nevertheless, even if the conception exists only in the minds of a minority of thinking Natives, it is of great interest, for the concept of Oneness there may be signs of a capacity to transform ancestor worship to a higher religion" (p. 156). Here is the Frazerian theory of psychic unity foisted onto the Darwin theory of evolution — a ghastly hybrid. What if the minority of Natives who have this Oneness concept are the last to forget the original concept and not the first leaders of a new invention? The concept of many in One is a feature of the Osirian religion and Mr. Bullock is definitely impressed with many parallels between Mashona culture and that of Ancient Egypt.

A Native Commissioner has a fulltime job; it is therefore difficult for him to become master of much anthropological literature. Hence in his own field, that of giving information on the Natives under his continuous observation, he is on his own stamping ground; but when he ventures into the fields of discussions he enters the arena of the "rough and tumble", and unless widely read may fare badly. Mr. Bullock chooses to enter the fields of discussion. He quotes Frazer as a guide, but not Lord Raglan or Hocart as correctors. Frazer's theory behind the Golden Bough was the principle of psychic unity, a principle that was at the basis of the theory of the evolution of culture. But this theory has been abandoned; it, like the Marx theory of culture, makes no provision for the loss or degradation of culture. It is clear that in the case of the Mashona, as in that of the Ba-Ila, one is dealing with a loss, not an evolution, of culture. A perusal of Lord Raglan's book, *How Came Civilization* would have warned the author of many pitfalls.

He quotes Maine's *Ancient Law*, written nearly a hundred years ago, but appears unacquainted with Seagle's *The Quest for Law* (1941), or with any of Hoebel's work, who is very sound on the question of Law in primitive communities.

Mr. Bullock quotes Malinowski and, as a corrector, Radcliffe-Brown. Why Mr. Bullock should select Malinowski as a guide when, in the author's own realm, he could see that Malinowski was unreliable and functionally wide of the mark, in (a) his discussion of witchcraft, which Malinowski did not recognize as an independent cultural trait, distinct from black magic with which he functionally confuses it (Magic, Magic and Religion, in Needham's book, *Science, Religion and Reality*, p. 66, London, 1926), and (b) *lobolo*, which Malinowski regarded as a purchase of the woman (Hogben, H. J. *Law and Order in Polynesia*, London, 1934, Malinowski's Introduction, p. xlviii), whereas Radcliffe-Brown correctly shows that *lobolo* purchases from the bride's family the right to the custody of her children (Letter in the *Cape Times*, January 1924), a view also held by Mr. Bullock and by myself.

One may now pass on to discuss his theory of totemism, and here again, had the author been

aware of one of the American theories of the origin of the incest tabu, he would have found it of great use for his theory of the origin of totemism among the Mashona. Mr. Bullock's theory is "that the conception of totemism is not antecedent to that of exogamy, but follows it and is ancillary to it. It is the implement of the social order, not its founder and governor" (p. 97). With this conclusion or verdict I am in agreement. Magistrates are early introduced to the dictum "record your verdict, but do not give your reasons": the verdict is usually right, the reasons wrong. For me, the reasons on which the author reaches his right conclusion are wrong.

Most authorities base totemism on the incest tabu: the author bases totemism on exogamy and exogamy on the incest tabu. Lord Raglan in his book *Jocasta's Crime* debunked the incest tabu, but suggested one equally unacceptable. The author remarks that, "if the inhibition of incest be not in intuitive, then it must be admitted that it would very speedily become one of the primary axioms born of experience of the results of inbreeding" (p. 97). Heape, in his book *Sex Antagonism* (1913), showed that the inhibition of incest was not intuitive, and psychologists have shown that man has no instincts (see, Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb: *Experimental Social Psychology*, Caps. 2 & 3, New York, 1937).

I myself have met tribes isolated in the British Cameroons, in which men married their sisters but ceased to do so when they met other tribes, who derided them for so doing. (See also Slotkin, on a possible lack of incest regulations in old Iran, *American Anthropologist*, p. 612, vol. 49, no. 4, part I, Oct.–Dec. 1947.)

As for inbreeding, teaching a people that incest is injurious for the stock, one may ask how pure-bred stocks developed if it is not by inbreeding?

The ortho-cousin marriages of the Arabs give in a few generations as close a biological mixing as brother-and-sister marriages, yet they have not learnt this lesson, and they are regarded as an intelligent people, whereas the author does not regard the Mashona as such.

Pursuing his idea of the deleteriousness of inbreeding he writes: "It is results that appeal to the mental processes of the uncivilized, and a result, such as the birth of an abnormal child, would be a matter of more concern in a primitive society than one can realise to-day" (p. 97). As the author and myself are contemporaries, and neither of us have had any experience of the primitive society he mentions, but only of societies of to-day, I am at a loss to know how he can assert that the birth of an abnormal child would have more effect on society then than it would have to-day. Actually we do not know. He continues. "I submit that such events would of themselves lead to the prohibition of incest and then to the more extended laws of exogamy; and that so far from exogamy being explained by totemism, being one of its characteristics, it precedes and uses it as its implement" (p. 98). White ("The Definition & Prohibition of Incest", *American Anthropologist*, p. 416–35, vol. 50, no. 3, part I, 1948) shows that the incest tabu is not based on biological needs, nor on phsychological dictates, it is a social device for the preservation of society in times of stress. Miss Green, in her excellent study of Ibo society in *Ibo Village Affairs*, shows exogamy functioning as a social device without the slightest signs of totemism.

While not accepting the author's speculation on the incestuous origin of totemism, it is not without foundations.

The book is an excellent reference book if one avoids the author's speculations and theories. Such matters should be left to the students of comparative studies. The strength of books written by Native Commissioners is the soundness and veracity of their factual information, and this book can be readily recommended from that aspect. Thus Mr. Bullock's views on the function of *lobolo* is sound. His account of the part it plays in Shona society is revealing. The book in spite of the extent to which the reviewer disagrees with the author's speculations can be warmly recommended as a mine of information.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.